SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW

SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW

Contents

BOOK REVIEWS

SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW

Announcement of New Editor

We are pleased to announce that Mark E. Courtney is the new editor of *Social Service Review*. Courtney is a professor in the University of Chicago's School of Social Service Administration. His fields of special interest are child welfare policy and services, the connection between child welfare services and other institutions serving marginalized populations, and the professionalization of social work. His current work includes studies of the adult functioning of former foster children, experimental evaluation of independent living services for foster youth, and the influence of juvenile courts on the operation of the child welfare system. In 2015, Courtney received the Distinguished Career Achievement Award from the Society for Social Work and Research.

Courtney is taking on the role previously held by Susan J. Lambert, associate professor in the University of Chicago's School of Social Service Administration, who had been editor of *Social Service Review* since 2013. Lambert will be heading to New York in the fall of 2016 as a Russell Sage Foundation visiting scholar. There, she plans to write a book that examines how employer scheduling practices create social and economic inequality and that advances strategies for establishing new employment standards to increase the adequacy, stability, and predictability of work hours in jobs at the lower end of the labor market.

When Professional Power Fails: A Power Relations Perspective

EVE E. GARROW
American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California

YEHESKEL HASENFELD
University of California, Los Angeles

Social work professionals rely on claims of exclusive knowledge expertise and a code of ethics to exercise professional power and autonomy. Yet they may find themselves in organizational settings that diminish their professional power. In this case study of a supportive housing program for chronically homeless persons, we find that the professional social workers lost their power to property managers in critical decisions about their clients. Using a power relations perspective, we show that the social workers' inability to use their professional power can be explained by the dominance of external stakeholders whose interests gave primacy to property management over social services. We use the case study to demonstrate that a power relations perspective, often overlooked in research on human service organizations, provides a strong explanatory model that can be harnessed to understand the organizational conditions that affect the power of social workers to exercise their professional knowledge.

INTRODUCTION

Like other professionals, social workers use their claim to an exclusive and evidence-based body of knowledge as justification for their professional power (Abbott 1988). At the same time, the code of ethics of the profession aims to ensure that such power will not be abused (Reamer 2013). Following Andrew Abbott (1988), we define professional knowledge of an occupational group, such as social workers, to be its claim for jurisdiction over a problem area, such as child maltreatment. This claim is supported by professional knowledge's ability to articulate the tools to diagnose the problem, its capacity to provide effective treatment, and a causal inference between the two. Often, this exclusive knowledge is developed and transmitted in academic settings that are mandated to train future professionals.

By virtue of their claim to an exclusive body of knowledge, social workers expect to exercise considerable professional power. They expect to retain their jurisdiction over the problem area in the face of competition from other occupational groups, such as clinical psychologists, and to enjoy substantial autonomy and discretion in their practice (Dingwall and Lewis 1983; Freidson 1986; Abbott 1988). The retention of such jurisdiction and the claims for monopoly over professional knowledge may be buttressed by membership in professional associations that regulate professional practice and by state licensing (Scott 2008). Arguably, then, the professional power of social workers within human service organizations arises from their monopoly over exclusive knowledge-based expertise, the trust they evoke in their ethics-driven relations with clients, and their pivotal role in legitimating the organization's service mandate.

We know from extant research that social workers are sometimes constrained in exercising their professional power when they compete with professionals from more prestigious professions who set managerial barriers through control over organizational resources, rules, and practices (e.g., Ben-Sira and Szyf 1992; Smith and Donovan 2003; Brodwin 2013). For example, Camille Gregorian (2005, 11) recounts how "hospital social workers have had their share of turf battles and power struggles with other professionals who compete with them to provide psycho-social care," particularly nurses (Mizrahi and Berger 2001).

What is less apparent from the research is that social workers can also be stripped of their professional power even when they are the dominant, and possibly exclusive, profession in the organization. As our study demonstrates, the ability of social workers to exercise their professional power is contingent on the political and resource environment of the organization in which they work, the interests of stakeholders who control the organization's key resources and legitimacy, and the structural adaptations taken by organizational leaders to meet these interests. We show that these forces can and do, under certain conditions, trump the professional power of the social workers, even in the absence of competition from other occupational groups of equal or higher status.

Our findings emerge from a case study of a human service organization that provides permanent supportive housing with wrap-around social services to chronically homeless persons. As researchers, we were called upon to identify the reasons for frictions between the social workers and the property managers in this organization and to devise strategies to minimize them.

In the course of our field research, we gathered extensive observational and interview data that repeatedly demonstrated that these conflicts arose at critical clinical decision junctures in the service trajectories of the residents that involved the participation of both the social workers and the property managers. Decisions, such as those that deny acceptance to the program, sanction clients for behavior related to their disabilities, or initiate eviction proceedings, are critical because they influence the well-being of the clients; they either provide them with or deprive them of scarce and valued organizational resources. They are clinical since they always involve a psychosocial assessment of the clients, which provides a key input into the decision-making process.

While we expected the social workers to dominate these critical decisions, we found that the property managers actually determined the decisions' outcomes and that the social workers became powerless in these situations. We found that the social workers' inability to exercise their professional power led to decision outcomes that negated their professional judgments. Outcomes such as withdrawal of privileges and threat of eviction were meted for behaviors that were often directly related to the disabilities that qualified the residents for the program in the first place. The residents, too, were stripped of having any significant voice in the decisions about their own service trajectory.

These findings led us to ask the following questions: Why did the perspectives, interests, and judgments of property managers, who lacked educational and professional credentials, tend to prevail over the professional judgment of social workers? What were the structural conditions that brought about such profound limits on the professional power of the social workers in these critical decision junctures? To answer these questions, we gathered additional data and re-analyzed data we had already collected. As we engaged in data analysis and interpretation, we adopted a power relations perspective that melds together concepts and propositions from institutional theory, the political economy of organizations, and resource dependence theory.

Our aim is to demonstrate the usefulness of a power relations perspective, which diverges from much of the contemporary research on organizations in general and human service organizations in particular, in understanding organizational practices. Leading researchers on organizations, such as Charles Perrow (1986), Christopher Hinings and Royston Greenwood (2002), Stewart Clegg, David Courpasson, and Nelson Phillips (2006),

Gerald Davis and J. Adam Cobb (2010), Neil Fligstein and Doug McAdam (2012), and Steven Vallas and Andrea Hill (2012), argue that both the cultural turn in organizational theory and its appropriation by managerial elites and business schools have diverted attention away from the importance of power relations in explaining organizational practices.

In its disregard of power, organizational theory has lost its critical perspective. As Vallas and Hill (2012) note, the cultural turn, as expressed by neo-institutional theory, tends to ignore conflict and struggle within organizations. As they put it, "The dilemmas that confront neo-institutionalist theory stem from its failure to advance a viable conception of how power operates, whether within the firm, the organizational field, or the political economy writ large" (Vallas and Hill 2012, 171). Paul DiMaggio (1988) himself acknowledges that neo-institutional theory lacks a conception of agency, power, and conflict. In related work, Clegg and colleagues (2006) show convincingly that cultural theories of organizations cannot explain why organizations, particularly human service organizations, may engage in oppressive practices. Institutional logics, another cultural theory, also tends to be silent about the political and economic struggles over competing logics and the forces that lead to patterns of dominance and subordination among and within organizations (Fligstein and McAdam 2015).

This article makes three key contributions. First, we show that a power relations perspective offers a valuable lens through which to understand the periodic and yet systematic disempowerment of professional social workers, even at critical decision junctures in their clients' service trajectories. Second, we explore how a power relations perspective, when applied to human service organizations, can be generalized to provide a better understanding of the structural conditions that influence the distribution and exercise of power among different occupational groups within the organization and how these influence organizational practices. Third, we show how the power relations perspective reveals the structural conditions that lead vulnerable groups, such as homeless persons, to become powerless clients in organizations. The article concludes by proposing that in order for social workers to exercise their professional power, they need to forge alliances with external (and internal) stakeholders who share their values. These stakeholders need to have the power to influence social policies and programs that promote the interests and well-being of their clients. Such alliances are especially critical when social workers serve vulnerable clients who are politically marginalized within organizations.

A POWER RELATIONS PERSPECTIVE

The focus of our study is to understand how critical decisions about clients, from intake to exit, are shaped by the power dynamics between the representatives of the occupational groups involved in these decisions and the relationship between these dynamics and the broader external and internal power relations in the organization. We view these decision-making processes as political processes in which power holders "push for preferred alternatives, whether or not these will lead to decisions that are of general benefit" (Miller and Wilson 2006, 471). In this context, power is the ability of persons or groups within the organization to affect the outcome of organizational decisions to favor their interests over the interests of other persons or groups participating in these decisions (Flood and Scott 1978; Perrow 1986).

The decision-making process also involves contentions over knowledge and who controls valued knowledge that can determine the decision outcomes. While possession of knowledge such as professional expertise or particular skills can then confer power in the decision-making process, having power also determines what constitutes valued knowledge (Foucault 1977).

To understand how power is exercised by the different occupational groups that participate in these critical decisions, we use a power relations perspective that melds together concepts and propositions from three interrelated organizational theories: old institutional theory, political economy of organizations, and resource dependence (all three are defined in the paragraphs that follow). All three theories problematize the relationship between the organization and its external environment, arguing that the need to mobilize legitimacy and resources controlled by key stakeholders and the strategies selected to secure them have a major effect on internal power relations.

We begin by acknowledging the contribution of the *old institutional theory*, as articulated by Philip Selznick (1996). This theory advances the proposition that the organization adapts its practices in response to stakeholders who have interest in the organization and its outputs and who use their control over valued resources to influence organizational practices to their advantage. It is the leadership of the organization, then, that engages in major negotiations between the organization and its various stakeholders. The accommodations leaders make in response to the demands of powerful and influential stakeholders will define the actual goals and practices of the organization (Selznick 1957).

The insights provided by the old institutional theory serve as the foundation for the *political economy of organizations* that Mayer Zald (1970) formulates in his study of the transformation of the YMCA from an evangelical mission to a membership service organization. Not unlike institutional theory, the political economy of organizations, as elaborated by Gary Wamsley and Mayer Zald (1976), posits that the demands, conflicts, and negotiations of the organization within its external political economy will influence its internal political economy, namely, how power and resources will be distributed among various occupational groups in the production of the organization's services (Benson 1975). The political economy perspective extends the insights of institutional theory by specifying the political and economic conditions that influence organizational structure and practices. The political environment, consisting of centers of legitimacy and power, shapes the organization's ability to exist and set goals. The economic environment influences demand for organizational services, as well as the availability of material resources to meet these demands.

We further augment political economy of organizations with *resource dependence theory* to specify the particular mechanisms that give certain actors within and outside the organization power over other actors (Pfeffer and Salancik 1978). Resource dependence theory is based on the foundational concept of power-dependence relations, in which the greater the dependence of A on resources controlled by B that cannot be obtained elsewhere, the greater the power of B over A (Emerson 1975). Applied to organizations, this theory proposes that the more an internal work group reinforces the attentiveness and mobilization of legitimacy and resources of a powerful external interest group, the greater the accretion of power by that group within the organization. In other words, internal work groups that have the skills, expertise, and resources to better meet the interests and demands of more powerful stakeholders will acquire more power within the organization than other work groups that may lack these skills, expertise, and resources. Therefore, the interests of the powerful external stakeholders are most likely to be expressed in the internal political economy, which constitutes "the means organizational leaders use to perpetuate power and the structures of dominance they thrive to create and legitimize" (Clegg et al. 2006, 17).

In their seminal study of the relative power of different academic units within the university, Gerald Salancik and Jeffrey Pfeffer (1974) show that such power is a function of the ability of the units to mobilize external re-

sources that are essential to the university (e.g., grants and contracts) and that such power is used internally to buttress the position of such units within the university. W. Richard Scott and colleagues (2000) find that the marketization and commercialization of health care introduced powerful stakeholders pushing for greater sales of medical services that, in turn, increased the power of business-oriented hospital managers while it diminished the power and autonomy of physicians in controlling the conditions of their work. Eve Garrow and Yeheskel Hasenfeld (2012, 147), in their study of social enterprises, propose and find evidence that "the greater the dependence of the organization on revenues from its business enterprise, the more dominant [the business enterprise] will become in the organization."

THE ORGANIZATION UNDER STUDY

Organizations that provide permanent supportive housing to chronically homeless persons are expected to have professional social workers in control of their service technologies. Funded by the Department of Housing and Urban Development's (HUD) Shelter Plus Care (S+C) program, such organizations are distinct because they provide permanent, affordable housing coupled with social services. Their target population is chronically homeless persons who have been without permanent housing for at least 1 year and who suffer from severe mental illness, chronic substance abuse, or HIV/AIDS. The logic of the S+C program is that housing and services must be closely linked in order to ensure stability of housing for this population (e.g., Tsemberis and Eisenberg 2000). Organizations that receive S+C funding require their residents to participate in ongoing case management and counseling and to comply with various services requirements prescribed by the social workers such as psychiatric treatment, personal improvement workshops, or participation in Alcoholics Anonymous (HUD 2002). Because these organizations are residential facilities, they also employ property managers who are nonprofessional workers in charge of the management of the buildings, including responding to maintenance needs, collecting rent, conducting periodic physical inspections of the apartments, and enforcing building rules.

The organization under study, Homeless Housing Corporation (HHC),[1] provides permanent supportive housing for persons experiencing chronic

---

1. The name of the organization is fictitious in order to protect the confidentiality and anonymity of the respondents.

homelessness. It is located in a large metropolitan area and owns 20 build-
ings with over 1,000 units dedicated to housing chronically homeless per-
sons. According to the organization's records, the majority of the residents
are male (75 percent), African American (73 percent), and have a median age
of 46. Fifty-two percent of the residents suffer from mental illness, 45 per-
cent suffer from substance abuse, and 7 percent have HIV/AIDS. Over half
of the residents rely only on General Assistance benefits, while 31 percent
receive Supplementary Security Income (SSI).

Under the S+C program, HUD provides the rent subsidy (based on its
calculation of fair market rent), and the residents are expected to pay a third
of their monthly income. The organization is required to match the rent
subsidies dollar for dollar with social services provided either internally or
through referrals to other service providers. To meet these requirements,
HHC hired professional social workers (i.e., with MSW degrees) for each of
its buildings. They were responsible for performing comprehensive needs
assessments, developing case plans, providing crisis intervention and inten-
sive case management, and initiating, monitoring, and following up on re-
ferrals to various health and social services agencies. Each social worker
(titled "case manager" by the organization) had a caseload that varied from
20 to 35 residents. Supervision was provided by a couple of more senior
social workers.

Each building also had a property manager, often a formerly homeless
person. These workers were paid an annual salary of just under $18,000 (in
current dollars), and they lived in the buildings they managed. They were
responsible for monitoring residents' compliance with building rules, col-
lecting rent, undertaking periodic inspections of the apartments, and address-
ing building maintenance needs. The property managers were supervised
by an experienced property manager who had been elevated to a supervisory
position.

The middle management of HHC included the director of housing ser-
vices, who was a seasoned mental health professional with years of expe-
rience in directing mental health services for homeless persons, and the
associate director, who herself had an advanced degree in social work and
years of experience working with homeless persons. They were assisted by
the respective supervisors of the social workers and the property managers.
The director was responsible for overseeing and addressing issues that arose
in the encounters between the social workers, property managers, and res-
idents. These issues included residents' failure to pay rent, conflicts between
property managers and residents, difficulties social workers had respond-

ing to residents' behavioral issues, or conflict between social workers and property managers. The director held weekly staff meetings with the social workers and the property managers in which these issues were discussed, intervention plans were formulated, and follow up on their implementation was reported.

HOMELESS HOUSING CORPORATION (HHC) HOMELESS SERVICES FIELD

To identify and analyze the stakeholders with which HHC transacted, we situate the organization in the homeless services field. The homeless services field can be defined as all the organizations dedicated to serving homeless people, such as providers of fiscal resources, regulatory agencies, affordable housing developers, service providers, providers of staff and volunteers, consumers, advocacy groups, and other stakeholders related to homelessness (DiMaggio and Powell 1983). It is within this field that HHC attempted to secure fiscal resources and legitimacy, comply with numerous regulatory requirements, mobilize supportive social services, and recruit homeless persons to its program. In interviews, HHC executive staff identified the following key stakeholders:

- Equity investors interested in purchasing tax credits and using the depreciation of the buildings as tax write-offs. HHC pays the mortgage to the equity investors out of the revenues each building generates (i.e., HUD rent subsidies plus tenants' rent).
- HUD, which defines the categories of homeless persons who are eligible to be housed in the S+C programs and qualify for its rent subsidies. The local housing authority is delegated with the responsibility of enforcing HUD regulations, certifying the continued eligibility of the residents, and the regular inspections of the buildings to ensure that they are up to code.
- Social service providers who were willing to serve HHC residents. With the exception of a few small and time-limited grants, HHC did not receive funding for health and social services such as medical and psychiatric treatment. It relied on collaborative relations and the eligibility of its residents to obtain needed services from local service providers.
- The residents. Potential residents had to apply for HHC housing, fit the eligibility criteria of being a chronically homeless person with serious disabling conditions, and regularly reactivate their applications while waiting for available housing units.

TABLE 1. HHC Sources of Revenue (%)

Source	%
Property rental revenue	63.3
Capital grants	15.0
Public grants	14.7
Private grants	5.4
Contributions	1.0
Interest—other	.5
Total	99.9

Source. Homeless Housing Corporation Annual Report.

Table 1 presents the sources of revenue for the organization during the study period. It shows that most of its revenues derived from HUD rent subsidies, followed by property development grants (i.e., capital and public).

METHOD

For a period of 2 years,[2] the authors and a research assistant undertook extensive participant observations of daily activities and routines in each building; observed encounters between property managers, social workers, and residents; and attended various regular meetings of staff and residents. In addition, the research team interviewed the social workers and managers and conducted several focus groups with a subset of property managers, social workers, and residents. Because we were particularly interested in the decision-making processes regarding three critical decisions—admission of homeless persons to the organization, responses to residents' behavioral issues such as failure to pay rent, and eviction—we made considerable effort to attend and record the meetings in which these decisions were being made. We also interviewed the social workers and property managers specifically about their perceptions and experiences of participating in these decision-making processes.

Although the choice of HHC as a case study was made at the request of the organization, it presented us with what Bent Flyvbjerg (2006, 229) terms a "critical case," which he defines "as having strategic importance in relation to the general problem," which, in this instance, is identifying and understanding organizational conditions that lead to the erosion of professional power, particularly by social workers.

---

2. The study took place within the current decade. To protect the confidentiality of the respondents, we do not specify the exact dates the study took place.

DATA

Field Observations

The research assistant spent over 180 hours spread over 2 years in direct observations at the various buildings, observing activities and engaging in casual conversations with residents and staff. When opportunities arose, she engaged the residents in conversations about what it was like to live in the building. Similarly, she had opportunities to observe incidences in which property managers and social workers had to respond to and attempt to resolve conflicts with residents or between themselves. Following each observation, the research assistant wrote a summary memo to highlight some of the major themes that emerged. These were discussed by the team and further elaborated on in each memo.

Residents' Meetings

The research assistant observed 15 residents' meetings, usually lasting about 2 hours, in the different buildings. The meetings were devoted to addressing various building management issues and concerns raised by the residents. She also engaged in casual conversations with residents before and after the meetings about their concerns with the program and the various issues that emerged during the meetings.

Staff Meetings

We attended 31 2-hour staff meetings at various buildings that included middle managers, social workers, and property managers. The meetings were mostly devoted to handling problems with residents. As we began to recognize the importance of these meetings in affecting the service trajectories of the residents, we focused more closely on three key decisions—whom to admit to the program, how to handle residents' behavioral issues, and when to evict residents. These decisions always involved the participation of social workers, property managers, and middle managers. In addition to attending and observing these decision-making meetings, we recorded what the social workers and the property managers said, what decision outcomes they pursued, the interchanges between them, and the positions taken by the middle managers.

Individual Interviews

We conducted semi-structured interviews that lasted between 1 and 2 hours with all of the property managers ($n = 8$) and their supervisors ($n = 2$). Some

of the questions included, "What is your role in the agency?" "What are the main challenges working in a place like this?" "Do you have issues with case management?" "Do case managers ever interfere with your ability to do your job?" We conducted semi-structured interviews with most of the social workers ($n = 6$) and their supervisor ($n = 1$). Some of the questions included, "What is your role as case manager?" "What does the agency expect of you?" "What kinds of problems could lead to a client losing their housing?" "Tell us about your relationship with the property managers." We also interviewed the director and the associate director of housing services, the respective supervisors of the social workers and property managers, the director of finances, and the CEO ($n = 6$). All of the interviews were transcribed.

Focus Groups

We conducted two focus groups with the residents of the two largest residential buildings (a total of 15 participants). We drew purposive samples for each focus group to represent the demographics and disabling conditions of the buildings' residents. In the focus groups, residents talked about their experiences and issues in living at HHC. We probed with such questions as, "What are the best and the worst things about living here?" "How about house rules?" "What about the property managers and about the job they do?" "How do you feel about your social worker?" We conducted one focus group with 8 out of the 10 property managers. They discussed the challenges of managing their buildings and their relations with the residents and with the social workers. We led with such questions as: "What is expected of you in this role as property manager?" "How do you know when a client is really problematic?" "How do you know when it is time for a client to go?" "What is the difference between the social worker approach and the property manager approach?" We also held a focus group with all of the social workers (11 participants) covering similar themes, such as: "Tell us a bit about the scope of your job and what is expected of you as a case manager. Describe case management vs. property management, who does what? Overlap? You both work with clients, you have to sort out who does what?"

Documents

Over the course of the study, we gathered over 180 documents, including HUD regulations, intake forms and interviewing scripts, internal memos and training materials, various job descriptions, HHC mission statements and financial reports, internal newsletters, and media presentations. They were all coded into the categories we generated for the purpose of the analysis.

ANALYSIS

All the data were entered into Atlas ti, and their coding and categorization occurred in two phases. In the first phase, we were trying to understand the daily routines of all the actors (property managers, social workers, and residents) and to generate categories and themes that seem best to describe them (Wolcott 1994). We began with a series of codes to capture the various aspects of the daily routines and recurrent patterns of interaction among the actors. Through an iterative process, we revised and refined them (Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw 2011) until we had a good grasp of the interactional routines exercised by the property managers, social workers, and residents. Given the initial focus of the study, we paid particular attention to the relations between property managers and social workers, identifying events that signaled contentious encounters or statements by the various actors about the quality of their relations.

As we became more aware of the critical importance of the decision-making processes determining the fate of the residents, as well as the distinct roles that the property managers and the social workers played in these decisions, we shifted to the second phase, in which we were trying to understand how the different actors triggered and influenced these decisions and what power they exercised in this process. We collected additional data on these decisions, particularly on the actions that followed the decisions and their consequences to the residents. We were also sensitive to the multiple interpretations of the residents' behavior that prompted tensions and conflicts among the actors and the processes they used to resolve them.

Our reliance on various data sources enabled convergence of perspectives on emerging themes, which improved the credibility of the qualitative findings (Lincoln and Guba 1985; Miles and Huberman 1994). We developed a series of analytic categories, such as relational patterns between the social workers and the property managers, workers' struggles to meet the demands of external stakeholders such as the housing authority, the roles of supervisors and middle managers, the expressions of powerlessness by the residents, constraints on professional autonomy, and the discretion of property managers to explain the patterns we observed in the data. The coding was done by the authors and the research assistant. When we had disagreements about the coding, we discussed them, reviewed the data again, and were able to converge toward an agreement about the proper code.

Guided by the lens of the power relations perspective, we also wrote analytic memos to further examine the relationship between the data and

the theoretical constructs (Hesse-Biber, Nagy, and Leavy 2010). We then discarded or revised constructs as we assessed their efficacy and clarity to understand the observed patterns (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Eisenhardt 1989).

RESULTS

We find that the social workers had two distinct interaction patterns with property managers and residents. The first characterizes the social workers' clinical routines, in which they were able to exercise their professional power and autonomy. The second was triggered when critical decisions about the residents had to be made that put social workers at odds with the interests of property managers. These decision junctures occurred during intake, in responses to behavioral issues, and around possible evictions. As we show, in the clinical routines the professional power of the social workers was affirmed and remained unchallenged. By contrast, in critical decision-making junctures, the power of the social workers was undermined.

THE CLINICAL ROUTINES

At HHC, all of the social workers we interviewed told us that they employed their professional expertise when they held individual or group sessions with their clients. At the weekly staff meetings discussing their clients, social workers often evoked their psychotherapeutic knowledge to explain why they had chosen certain diagnoses and treatment practices. In all of our observations and interviews, we never observed the property managers interfering with or attempting to interfere with the professional judgments and practices of the social workers in their clinical interactions with their clients.

CRITICAL DECISION MAKING

By contrast, we observed that the property managers usurped the professional power of the social workers during critical decision-making junctures concerning the residents that held profound implications for their well-being and housing. It is important to re-emphasize that the raison d'être of the organization is to keep the residents housed and that keeping residents housed is in itself the most important therapeutic tool the organization has to enhance and maintain the well-being of the residents.

Residents at HHC with serious mental health and substance abuse histories periodically presented behavioral issues that required clinical assessment, psychosocial treatment, and property management responses that called for co-actions by the social workers and the property managers. Invariably, these issues arose when the property managers perceived and reported unacceptable behaviors by the residents, such as failure to abide by building rules, disrespectful or aggressive interactions, or failure to pay rent. We find that these were occasions when the views and practices of the social workers and property managers collided and the power relations between them were contested. They occurred in the three critical decision areas we identified earlier: selection of appropriate residents, rule infractions and sanctions, and eviction. In each of these decision areas, a struggle ensued between the property managers and the social workers about whose interests and practices would dominate. As we show below, the middle managers, particularly the director of housing services and the respective supervisors of the social workers and the property managers, played a critical role in setting constraints on how the property managers and social workers could express their interests and occupational judgements. In turn, the power relations between the actors were profoundly altered such that the property managers gained a power advantage over the social workers.

Selection of Residents
Formally, homeless persons qualify for S+C if they have been chronically homeless, suffer from a chronic disability, and meet a low-income eligibility that would qualify them for either SSI or public assistance. Once applicants were approved by HHC and reached the top of the waiting list for a vacant S+C unit, they were scheduled to be interviewed by the property manager and the social worker of the building.

We find that these interviews became contests between competing interests. We observed that the social workers brought their professional knowledge and skills to assess the suitability of the applicants for treatment in a supportive housing environment and told us that they expected that applicants would exhibit the characteristics (i.e., chronically homeless along with chronic mental health or health disabilities) that qualified them for admittance to HHC. As a social worker explained in an interview: "We know people are coming into our program with some issues, we don't like to turn them away because they're acting like a loon in the interview—we know that already."

By contrast, we observed that during the intake interviews property managers attempted to select residents who would, in their view, be easiest to manage in a restrictive residential environment. In our observations of intake interviews, we noted that the property managers used an interview protocol "to determine the applicant's responsibility toward their homelessness and have they gained any new skills or insights that suggest, with support services, they may be able to succeed in permanent housing" (quoting from a HHC internal document titled "Sample Questions for an Interview"). Guided by the protocol, they looked for people who had "given up the homeless way of life," were drug-free, and were motivated to follow the house rules. One property manager we interviewed put it in these terms: "If you show real, real serious emotions, get angry, are super, super arrogant, we know you are going to be a problem. . . . Then we look at the record at how many times you had been kicked out [of other residential programs]. How many times we had some issues. . . . When we see that, we're like, 'No. These people are just not ready.'"

We find that the social workers' expectation that their professional judgment would prevail was often upended during the intake process. For one, their professional status was contested by one of the middle managers, the property management supervisor, who was present at the interviews and who would not permit the social workers to fully use their knowledge and expertise in the selection of residents. An excerpt from an actual intake interview provides an illustration:

> SOCIAL WORKER: Where are you staying now?
>
> APPLICANT: I became homeless 3 years ago in [location] because of addiction, and I'm staying at [single room occupancy hotel].
>
> SOCIAL WORKER: Are you currently using?
>
> APPLICANT: I'm clean.
>
> PROPERTY MANAGER SUPERVISOR: (*Interrupting the social worker*) Tell [the applicant] what's your role.
>
> SOCIAL WORKER: So you don't want me to do the full interview?
>
> PROPERTY MANAGER SUPERVISOR: No, that's his [the property manager's] role. This is why I'm sitting in. Just talk about what your role will be.

The social worker then described her role in helping residents meet their treatment goals and linking them up with resources in the community. The property manager supervisor asked the applicant a few questions about his

history of substance abuse, including a past arrest, and then posed "test" questions.

> PROPERTY MANAGER SUPERVISOR: How do you think that will make you feel when [your] neighbor's drug use will affect you just in your general quality of life—like going in and out all night because of drug use?
>
> APPLICANT: I already experienced this at [single room occupancy hotel] and it wouldn't be a problem for me.
>
> PROPERTY MANAGER SUPERVISOR: Are you ready for independent living? (*Applicant nods*)
>
> PROPERTY MANAGER SUPERVISOR: Can you handle the decreased level of structure? There's no one taking money from your check here.
>
> APPLICANT: I already know I don't want to do drugs. I want to go forward, not backward. I don't think I need that much structure anymore.

During intake, the social worker and the property manager were expected to come to a joint decision. But, as shown in the above example, the social worker's ability to apply her professional diagnostic skills was highly constrained when she was silenced by the property management supervisor. The resulting decision privileged the interests of the property manager.

The devaluation of the social worker's role did not always go unchallenged. For example, the above interchange triggered a visible conflict between the social worker and the property manager supervisor at the next staff meeting. The social worker accused the property manager supervisor of reprimanding her in front of the applicant, and the property manager supervisor responded by accusing the social worker of "basically trying to drive the interview." The property manager supervisor argued that she did not want the applicant to get the impression that the social worker was the "main person." She said, "I just don't want them to get that kind of thinking in their head that the property manager is just someone to ask when you need to know where the bathroom is."

Being Put on the "Hotlist"

When the property managers spotted a resident doing something that could be construed as a rule violation, they could issue a verbal warning or write up a formal infraction. A log of rule infractions maintained by the property managers included such entries as "argues with property manager; vindictive actions to annoy property manager; violation of guest policy; property damage; threaten staff; [room] dirty—bad odor, late on rent." Three formal

infractions constituted cause for eviction. The property managers relied on the house rules, which provided an organizationally warranted interpretation of problematic behavior as a signifier of a bad tenant. A property manager we interviewed put it succinctly: "You [social worker] can't come to me and ask me not to enforce any rules on this tenant because there are 45 units in this building. If I allow this tenant to do something, I have to let everyone in here do it."

In particular, we observed that when residents' mental health problems or drug addiction issues caused them to be in arrear with their rent, the property managers seized on such infractions to put the residents on the "hotlist" as candidates for eviction. Unlike behavioral issues, failure to pay rent could be readily held up in court as a legal justification for eviction. A property manager we interviewed put it this way: "Let's say it is a mental illness case and a substance abuse case. We try to give them a payment plan. Sometimes they owe too much [rent], say $800, and won't meet you half way—for example, they try to argue for paying $50 per month until it is paid back. That won't fly with us. They'll never get caught up. . . . So I say, I can give you a 3-day notice, and you can leave and avoid the eviction."

We find that the social workers interpreted the residents' failure to pay rent quite differently. The social workers expected behavioral issues due to the chronic psychological barriers the residents faced in their daily lives. For them they were a signifier of the residents' mental illness or substance abuse issues. A social worker we interviewed contrasted her interpretation of the residents' behavioral problems with that of the property manager as follows: "This person was late for rent this amount of time, and it can't happen anymore. Our take may be, 'Yeah but before this she lived on a couch in [location] park for 8 years so she's going to have a hard time with the concept of paying rent on time.' 'Yes and she's gotten infractions [for failing the room inspection].' And we again have to say, 'She lived on a couch for 8 years in [location] park so she's not really familiar with brooms and mops.' I know when it comes down to it you must have your room ready for spraying, you must pay rent, but we also need to hear the tenant's side. For some [one] who has not habituated to doing that for 8 years for 10 years for 20 years, how do you change this behavior? It's not going to happen overnight. It isn't."

Using her professional knowledge and expertise, the social worker attempted to exert her professional power to give her therapeutic practice

greater currency than rule enforcement and payment of rent. It is important to emphasize that the organization could forgive the residents' inability to pay the rent and enable the social workers to pursue a therapeutic alternative without the threat of eviction. A social worker put it this way in an interview: "I don't think we can be too sensitive when we're trying to help an addict that didn't pay their rent. Property manager is like, they didn't pay their rent so they should be evicted and I think, where is the agency's obligation to like, no matter what, keep this person housed?"

Nonetheless, in our observations of the "hotlists," the social workers invariably lost out because the director of housing services, who presided over the meetings where evictions and infractions were discussed, harnessed therapeutic interventions in the service of enforcing compliance with the house rules. The director of housing services was quite blunt about it in an interview: "I'm not embarrassed to blackmail people when behavior and health are so obviously deteriorating and their housing is important to them to say, I'm not afraid of saying, 'You're going to get evicted, unless . . .'" The property management supervisors also reinforced this perspective. In an exchange concerning a resident on the "hotlist," for example, a property manager supervisor said, "Property management deals with the behavior, and case management helps the client deal with the consequences."

In sum, we find that the property managers' interests and practices gained prominence, while the social workers were unable to use their professional values, knowledge, and expertise to effectively challenge or override the property managers' construction of the residents' behavior problems as rule infraction. In fact, the use of the social workers' professional skills to persuade the residents to comply with the housing rules reified the definition of residents' problem behaviors as willful disobedience rather than mental health symptomology. At best, the social workers' professional skills and practices could only complement those of the property managers as an opportunity for therapeutic intervention. In particular, the social workers recognized that they lacked the power to negate the property managers' actions. Responding to a question in an interview on whether the property managers had more power than social workers in these meetings, a social worker replied: "Yes. Because they have the ability to evict someone. . . . If they want to keep someone, they're staying. If I want to keep someone, if property manager doesn't, then they go. It would take a lot to convince them otherwise."

Eviction

We observed that residents on the "hotlist" who continued to exhibit be-
havioral difficulties were likely to face eviction. During the course of our
study, the annual turnover rate, which included eviction and otherwise co-
erced departure, was about 15 percent. Eviction was typically justified on
the basis of failure to pay rent, which triggered a 3-day notice issued by the
property manager to either comply or face eviction. To successfully evict
the resident or convince the resident to leave voluntarily, the director of
housing services required the social workers to collect extensive supportive
documentation. A property manager described the process of eviction as
follows in an interview: "We give them a choice—leave voluntarily or face
eviction. [Property manager supervisor] and I make the final decision with
regard to evicting someone. We consult with [the social worker]. We finally
just decide that the person cannot pay back the rent." One of the leverages
that both property managers and social workers used to encourage volun-
tary departure is a HUD rule that evicted residents are barred from eligi-
bility for subsidized housing for 5 years.

During meetings on possible eviction, we observed that the social work-
ers seldom challenged failure to pay rent as a cause for eviction. Rather, the
social workers said that they helped their clients negotiate contracts with
the property managers about the steps they needed to take to comply. A
social worker described the crafting of a contract as follows: "[Property
manager supervisor] will encourage me to find out what is going on with
the client. The contract is created then . . . it is developed by the client and
his/her social worker because the [social worker] is the supportive figure,
while the property manager is the firm hand. Property manager has to sign
the contract/approve it. So we'll develop a contract where they [residents]
will double up on their rent or they will agree to meet with a recovery spe-
cialist twice a week . . . or whatever issues that are causing them not to pay
rent. But property manager usually tries to work with us and allows us to
advocate for clients so that they are not evicted right away."

Indeed, the social workers acknowledged that the only form of expertise
left for them to use at this point was advocacy on behalf of their clients. A
social worker told us that in preparing for the meeting about evicting her
client, "I have to do my own research; I have to take steps to defend the
oppressed—social workers are rarely in a position of power." She added that
when she went to eviction meetings, she felt like she was an attorney. To
her, the meetings were essentially confrontational with a high demand for

evidence. She stated, "Management is looking for proof from social worker, and social worker has to give it to them."

We recognize that there were some variations among the social workers about their views and interactions with the property managers. A few of the social workers did accept the property managers' belief that residents who failed to comply with housing rules deserved to be evicted. Similarly, there were a few property managers who were more sympathetic to the viewpoints of the social workers. Nonetheless, our field data, including the focus groups and interviews with the property managers and the social workers, point to persistent dominant sets of beliefs and behavioral patterns that clearly typify each group. These were visibly expressed when it came to making the critical decisions about the residents. Indeed, members of each group collectively faced distinct work conditions and constraints on the repertoire of actions they could take in response to the residents' behavioral problems. Moreover, the two groups were in competition for dominance in these decisions, and the members of each group tended to adhere to what they perceived to be their distinct expertise or skill. Each group also collectively engaged in sense making to justify the actions they had taken toward the residents.

A POWER RELATIONS PERSPECTIVE ON HOMELESS HOUSING CORPORATION (HHC)

Why were the professional judgments and practices of the social workers subverted when making critical decisions about the residents of HHC? To answer this question, we turn to the power relations perspective we enunciated earlier. We analyze the relations between HHC and its major stakeholders, paying close attention to the distribution of power and the political and economic constraints the stakeholders put on the organization. We then demonstrate why the organization seemed to give preference to the property management of its buildings over its social services. We show how these power relations help explain the limited ability of the social workers to exercise their professional power when it came to critical decisions about the residents.

STAKEHOLDERS AND POWER RELATIONS ANALYSIS

Our analysis reveals that HHC faced fiscal and regulatory pressures that led it to be preoccupied with selecting and retaining residents who would be

good tenants from a property management lens. These pressures arose from its dependence on equity investors and HUD, which controlled both the fiscal resources and the legitimacy of the organization. Because HHC had practically no other stakeholders that could offer these resources, the investors and HUD wielded considerable power over organizational practices. Concomitantly, while HHC relied on the local service providers to meet HUD's required social services, these exchange relations were mostly negotiated by the residents. Therefore, they had limited influence on either the organization or the providers. We demonstrate that the residents themselves, as stakeholders, were powerless in their relations with HHC, which explains why they had little capacity to influence organizational practices to meet their interests. Figure 1 presents the interests of the key stakeholders and their relative power over the practices of HHC.

First, the organization faced fiscal pressures from equity investors who were interested in purchasing tax credits and using the depreciation of the buildings as tax write-offs. Being in a field with very limited fiscal resources available for low-cost housing, HHC faced stiff competition from other organizations seeking similar sources of funding and investors. To attract these investors, HHC had to show that it could maintain the buildings as physi-

Stakeholders' Interests

	Well-maintained buildings	*Social services*	*Stable and respected tenancy*
High	Equity investors HUD	HUD	
Power Advantage			
		Service providers	
Low	Residents	Residents	Residents

FIGURE 1. Shelter Plus Care stakeholders

cally attractive, clean, and safe; pass housing inspections; have low maintenance costs; and generate the revenues, less maintenance and operating expenses, to pay the mortgage. To do so, management was motivated to select residents who would not engage in activities that might drive investors away. As the CEO put it in an interview, "Because it takes years to put these deals together, it is complicated and overly complex . . . a bad deal can blow your organization apart, . . . you certainly do not want someone [tenant] with issues in their life to clubber around in the room, or have bed-bugs, or be irrational in the community—[you don't want] any of those things to occur. You spent so much time and money, millions of dollars that go into this, it makes you so risk-averse."

Second, HHC was dependent on HUD for its rent subsidies, which accounted for over 60 percent of its budget (see table 1). HUD was also the primary legitimator and regulator of the organization. Like the equity investors, HUD pressured HHC to keep well-maintained buildings. To monitor and enforce its interest in the upkeep of the buildings, the local housing authority conducted weekly inspections and fumigation of at least one-quarter of the apartments in each building for cleanliness and hygiene, known as "Pugs Bugs." For HHC, apartments failing inspection could provoke inspection of the entire building, and persistent inspection violations could risk the termination of the rent subsidies. As the director of housing services put it in an interview, "Our buildings on the property management side have a heavy reporting burden connected to them. So there's that, then there's the curb appeal of the building. The building has to look good, operate well, has to be clean."

In particular, the organization tried hard to maintain drug-free buildings, even though it professed to practice a harm reduction model, and the director of housing services acknowledged in an interview that up to 40–60 percent of the residents were drug users. The CEO and middle managers also told us that they recognized that drug users were also likely to attract the police, which HHC wanted to avoid. Therefore, the motivation to have drug-free buildings stemmed from the desire to avoid residents who could become costly to the organization's operating costs and who might tarnish its public image.

HUD also required HHC to demonstrate that it was providing social services commensurate with the rent subsidies it received. To meet that requirement and HUD's auditing, HHC instituted an accounting system in which each service unit provided either internally or externally was

assigned a dollar value (e.g., a case management session equaled $90.00 per hour). The managers gave the social workers monthly and annual targets of service units based on the number of apartments in their buildings. The social workers, in turn, assigned their clients a set number of service units or points they had to accumulate each month, and they monitored the clients via a record of service signed by each service provider. The associate director of housing reported that the local housing authority conducted annual audits, sampling case files and records of service. According to the director of housing services, a past failure to pass the audit had triggered punishing fines, which led to the implementation of the current accounting system.

In addition to its social workers, HHC relied heavily on local service providers to tender needed services to its residents. Without these services, HHC could not meet its matching requirement and risked losing its rental subsidies. Given its reliance on these service providers, who generally shared the same therapeutic goals and values of the social workers, we would expect that such exchange relations would empower the social workers. Yet this was not the case. Rather than institutionalizing exchange relations with local service providers, HHC opted to put the onus entirely on the residents themselves to connect to the service providers, and the residents were aware that if they did not comply with their service plans, they might be sanctioned or evicted. As stated by the associate director of housing, "Caseworkers are screaming at clients when they did not get signatures, etcetera, from service providers to acquire their points."

As stakeholders of HHC, residents sought respite from the daily grind of the streets. They wanted safe, secure, and stable permanent affordable housing. As tenants, they wanted staff members to treat them with respect and dignity. Yet, as stakeholders, they were dependent on HHC. Because the demand for permanent supportive housing was so acute and the supply very limited, HHC could exercise considerable power on whom to admit or reject, and whom to evict. Residents had little or no countervailing power to have their interests met by HHC. To paraphrase Hirschman (1970), they hardly had an acceptable exit option if they objected to or resisted the tenancy conditions and the service plans imposed by the staff. As one resident put it during a focus group, "The major obstacles [of leaving] is that unless you get subsidized or housing somewhere else, you cannot afford to do better than the HHC."

Residents also said that they felt unable to exercise their voice (Hirschman 1970). While they could file complaints both with the management and with the local housing authority, they indicated in focus groups that they were reluctant to do so for fear of retaliation. A resident stated: "It seems as if you have a grievance against one [property manager], there's not really a safe way to address it." Consequently, the residents reported that they were powerless within the organization and had to comply with its rules or face the real possibility of eviction. A resident expressed it this way: "They are in charge. They are giving it to you, and you thank them for that, but it's under their rules."

DISCUSSION: THE FAILING OF PROFESSIONAL POWER

Having mapped and analyzed the power relations among the various stakeholders and the organization, we can now revisit and explain our findings about the diminution of the power of the professional social workers and the dominance of the property managers in the critical decisions about the residents. From a power relations perspective, it becomes apparent that the organization responded to the demands of its dominant stakeholders—equity investors and HUD—by ensuring that its internal practices conformed to these stakeholders' interests and values. Stakeholders that had little sway over the organization, such as residents and external service providers, had little to no influence over internal organizational practices. Consequently, HHC seemed to prefer residents whose attributes and behaviors would make them good tenants over residents with challenging service needs that the S+C program was originally designed to address. The organization had strong incentives to select and retain residents who would keep their housing units clean, safe, and in good repair; whose apartments would pass the periodic inspections by the local housing authority; who would make it easy to comply with HUD's rent subsidies; and who would not attract the attention of law enforcement or the media. To do so, its top managers gave greater primacy to property management than to social work when residents failed to comply with these expectations. As a result, in actual practice, when critical decisions had to be made about keeping or rejecting residents who presented behavioral challenges, the middle managers diminished the professional power of the social workers in favor of the property managers.

Our analysis shows that the middle management of HHC became the conduit between the demands of the external stakeholders and the organization's internal practices. To meet the expectations of the equity investors and HUD, middle managers diminished the power of the social workers, even when it meant subverting the organization's stated goal of selecting, retaining, and treating highly vulnerable clients. Then, having neutralized the social workers' professional power, the managers often rationalized evicting residents by pointing to the limitations of social work practices to promptly address residents' behavioral issues. As the associate director of housing put it, "The social workers have an incredible challenge because in the world of treatment in regular social service organizations, people who have behavioral problems but come to an office, you have all the time in the world to deal with them. In this situation if you can't help them move along quickly enough, they are going to get evicted and that's just the way it is." And, as the analysis points out, social work intervention practices seemed to become co-opted and harnessed to support the property managers' sanctions and threats of evictions.

As noted in the analysis, the social workers were cognizant of their loss of power in the critical decisions about their clients, and they acknowledged the primacy of property management. Expressing her frustration that HHC constrained her ability to fully exercise her professional power, a social worker expressed it succinctly: "At the end of the day they [HHC] are mainly [a] housing [rather] than a social service provider. We are more housing than social service." Another social worker stated, "I think they view themselves as a social service provider but first and foremost a property management company." The social workers felt that while HHC claimed to be a social service organization, the political economy and resource dependence of the organization were dominated by stakeholders who were more interested in developing and maintaining low-cost housing. These environmental power imbalances translated into internal practices that limited both the power and discretion of the social workers in favor of the property managers.

LIMITATIONS

While we believe that a power relations perspective offers a potent explanation of the diminution of the professional power of the social workers, it is possible that alternative organizational theories might offer better or complementary explanations. For example, we could have viewed the conflict

between the social workers and the property managers from an institutional logics perspective (Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury 2012). It certainly seems that the social workers and the property managers adhered to very different sets of values and beliefs that were in conflict. Yet, as we explained in introducing our choice of a power relations perspective, the institutional logics perspective deemphasizes the importance of power in shaping organizational structure and practices. Specifically, in the face of conflicting logics, it is not clear which logic would dominate in the environment of the organization because the political economy of that environment is not articulated in the model. Moreover it is unclear from the model which logic would prevail internally in the organization because there is limited attention to the conflicts and competition for power among its internal occupational groups.

Similarly, some elements of street-level bureaucracy may be at play at HHC, particularly in how the property managers used their discretion to cope with residents' behavioral problems with the limited options they had (Lipsky 1980; Brodkin 2011). The same may be said about the social workers. Yet, the theory does not address the issue of conflict between two different occupational groups and the reasons why one group loses out.

Although the use of a case study to explore the efficacy of a theoretical framework is appropriate, it is only a first step in engaging a power relations perspective in the study of professional power in organizations. It is possible that HHC, while one of the largest permanent supportive housing organizations, had idiosyncratic organizational attributes that may not be applicable to other similar service organizations. The next step could be a comparative case study of similar multi-occupational organizations that are situated differentially in their organizational fields. Such a study would enable an examination of the degree to which variations in the external political economy shape internal organizational power relations, especially when it comes to the professional power and autonomy of social workers in relation to other occupational groups.

CONCLUSION

Our analysis highlights and reinforces a key proposition of the power relations perspective: occupational groups within the organization that have the skills and expertise to better respond to the demands of the more powerful stakeholders in the environment of the organization will acquire

more power compared to other occupational groups who lack these skills and expertise. In the case of HHC, the property managers, in contrast to the social workers, had the skills that were needed to meet the demands of the more powerful stakeholders—HUD and equity investors. Consequently, the professional power of the social workers was appreciably diminished when it came to critical decisions about the clients.

Recognizing that professions such as social work are practiced within an organizational setting implies that the ability of a professional group to exercise its power within the organization will depend on the extent to which its values and practices are endorsed and supported by dominant stakeholders on whom the organization depends for legitimacy and resources. Barring such support, the professional group may lose out to other occupations within the organization that are better positioned to express the interests of the dominant stakeholders. As the case study shows, the relations among occupational groups within the organization are likely to be shaped by organizational managers charged with meeting the organization's objectives and its external demands (Evetts 2013). The organizational leaders in HHC played a pivotal role in shaping the internal structure and practices of the organization in order to adapt and accommodate to the external political economy. As would be expected from a power relations perspective, these strategic adaptions led to significant deviations from the mission and goals of the organization. In the case of HHC, it meant that the mission of the organization, which entailed doing everything possible to keep chronically disabled homeless people housed, was compromised.

Finally, our study explains why the residents, who were key stakeholders, seemed to have little power in the organization. In part, their lack of power can be attributed to the fact that homeless persons are stigmatized as unworthy, and they lack political capital (Schneider and Ingram 1993). Relatedly, the demand for supported housing far outstrips the supply, which gave HHC considerable power over the residents who desperately wanted to avoid eviction. Residents' lack of power over organizational practices meant that they were unable to confer power to the social workers, who were responsible for responding to their interests.

An implication of the power relations perspective is that the professional power of social workers may hinge on the mobilization of other powerful stakeholders to champion the clients' interests within the organization, especially when clients are politically marginalized. For example, powerful stake-

holders such as HUD could articulate and enforce accountability requirements that address the well-being of the clients more directly. Rather than just demonstrating compliance with the social services dollar match, HUD could make the rent subsidies contingent on the ability of HHC to demonstrate that it enrolls and retains the most vulnerable chronically homeless clients. Doing so would align powerful stakeholder interests with client interests, give priority to the social workers and their therapeutic skills, and ensure that the clients, despite their behavioral issues, are not evicted.

Vulnerable clients can obtain power to the extent that they gain social rights, defined by T. H. Marshall (1964, 74) as "the whole range from the right to a modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilized being according to the standards prevailing in the society." When clients have fuller social rights, the social work professionals who serve them are better able to exercise their professional knowledge and expertise to safeguard those rights.

NOTE

Eve E. Garrow conducts research, policy analysis, and advocacy for the American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California. Her work focuses on homeless policies and practices in the areas of housing and the criminalization of homelessness, with an emphasis on the consequences of policy design and implementation for the well-being of service recipients.

Yeheskel Hasenfeld is a distinguished research professor of social welfare at the University of California, Los Angeles, Luskin School of Public Affairs. His research focuses on the relationship between social policy and organizational practices, and on the organizational determinants of worker-client relations.

REFERENCES

Abbott, Andrew. 1988. *The System of Professions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Ben-Sira, Zeev, and Miriam Szyf. 1992. "Status Inequality in the Social Worker–Nurse Collaboration in Hospitals." *Social Science and Medicine* 34 (4): 365–74.

Benson, J. Kenneth. 1975. "The Interorganizational Network as a Political Economy." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 20 (2): 229–49.

Brodkin, Evelyn Z. 2011. "Putting Street-Level Organizations First: New Directions for Social Policy and Management Research." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 21 (suppl. 2): i199–i201.

Brodwin, Paul. 2013. *Everyday Ethics: Voices from the Front Line of Community Psychiatry.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Clegg, Stewart, David Courpasson, and Nelson Phillips. 2006. *Power and Organizations.* London: Sage.

Davis, Gerald F., and J. Adam Cobb. 2010. "Resource Dependence Theory: Past and Future." 21–42 in *Stanford's Organization Theory Renaissance, 1970–2000,* edited by Claudia Bird Schoonhoven and Frank Dobbin. Bingley, UK: Emerald Group.

DiMaggio, Paul J. 1988. "Interest and Agency in Institutional Theory." 3–21 in *Institutional Patterns and Organizations,* edited by Lynne G. Zucker. Cambridge, MA: Balinger.

DiMaggio, Paul J., and Walter W. Powell. 1983. "The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields." *American Sociological Review* 48 (2): 147–60.

Dingwall, Robert, and Philip Simon Coleman Lewis. 1983. *The Sociology of the Professions: Lawyers, Doctors, and Others.* London: Macmillan.

Eisenhardt, Kathleen M. 1989. "Building Theories from Case Study Research." *Academy of Management Review* 14 (4): 532–50.

Emerson, Robert M. 1975. "Social Exchange Theory." *Annual Review of Sociology* 2:335–62.

Emerson, Robert M., Rachel I. Fretz, and Linda L. Shaw. 2011. *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Evetts, Julia. 2013. "Professionalism: Value and Ideology." *Current Sociology* 61 (5–6): 778–96.

Fligstein, Neil, and Doug McAdam. 2012. *A Theory of Fields.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Flood, Ann Barry, and W. Richard Scott. 1978. "Professional Power and Professional Effectiveness: The Power of the Surgical Staff and the Quality of Surgical Care in Hospitals." *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 19 (3): 240–54.

Flyvbjerg, Bent. 2006. "Five Misunderstandings about Case-Study Research." *Qualitative Inquiry* 12 (2): 219–45.

Foucault, Michel. 1977. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison.* New York: Pantheon Books.

Freidson, Eliot. 1986. *Professional Powers: A Study of the Institutionalization of Formal Knowledge.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Garrow, Eve, and Yeheskel Hasenfeld. 2012. "Managing Conflicting Institutional Logics: Social Services versus Market." 121–43 in *Social Enterprises: An Organizational Perspective,* edited by Benjamin Gidron and Yeheskel Hasenfeld. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Glaser, Barney G., and Anselm L. Strauss. 1967. *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research.* Chicago: Aldine.

Gregorian, Camille. 2005. "A Career in Hospital Social Work: Do You Have What It Takes?" *Social Work in Health Care* 40 (3): 1–14.

Hesse-Biber, Sharlene Nagy, and Patricia Leavy. 2010. *The Practice of Qualitative Research.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Hinings, Christopher R., and Royston Greenwood. 2002. "Disconnects and Consequences in Organization Theory?" *Administrative Science Quarterly* 47 (3): 411–21.

Hirschman, Albert O. 1970. *Exit, Voice and Loyalty*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

HUD (US Department of Housing and Urban Development). 2002. "Shelter Plus Care Resource Manual." US Department of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, DC.

Lincoln, Yvonna S., and Egon G. Guba. 1985. *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Beverly Hills, CA.: Sage.

Lipsky, Michael. 1980. *Street Level Bureaucracy*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Marshall, T. H. 1964. *Class, Citizenship, and Social Development*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.

Miles, Matthew B., and A. M. Huberman. 1994. *Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Miller, Susan J., and David C. Wilson. 2006. "Perspectives on Organizational Decision-Making." 469–84 in *The SAGE Handbook of Organization Studies*, edited by Stewart R. Clegg, Cynthia Hardy, Thomas B. Lawrence, and Walter R. Nord. London: Sage.

Mizrahi, Terry, and Candyce S. Berger. 2001. "Effect of a Changing Health Care Environment on Social Work Leaders: Obstacles and Opportunities in Hospital Social Work." *Social Work* 46 (2): 170–82.

Perrow, Charles. 1986. *Complex Organizations: A Critical Essay*. 3rd ed. New York: Random House.

Pfeffer, Jeffrey, and Gerald R. Salancik. 1978. *The External Control of Organizations: A Resource Dependence Perspective*. New York: Harper & Row.

Reamer, Frederic G. 2013. *Social Work Values and Ethics*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Salancik, Gerald R., and Jeffrey Pfeffer. 1974. "The Bases and Use of Power in Organizational Decision Making: The Case of a University." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 19 (4): 453–73.

Schneider, Anne, and Helen Ingram. 1993. "Social Construction of Target Populations: Implications for Politics and Policy." *American Political Science Review* 87 (2): 334–47.

Scott, W. Richard. 2008. "Lords of the Dance: Professionals as Institutional Agents." *Organization Studies* 29 (2): 219–38.

Scott, W. Richard, Martin Ruef, Peter J. Mendel, and Carol A. Caronna. 2000. *Institutional Change and Healthcare Organizations: From Professional Dominance to Managed Care*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Selznick, Philip. 1957. *Leadership in Administration: A Sociological Interpretation*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

———. 1996. "Institutionalism 'Old' and 'New.'" *Administrative Science Quarterly* 41 (2): 270–77.

Smith, Brenda D., and Stella E. F. Donovan. 2003. "Child Welfare Practice in Organizational and Institutional Context." *Social Service Review* 77 (4): 541–63.

Thornton, Patricia H., William Ocasio, and Michael Lounsbury. 2012. *The Institutional Logics Perspective: A New Approach to Culture, Structure, and Process*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Tsemberis, Sam, and Ronda F. Eisenberg. 2000. "Pathways to Housing: Supported Housing for Street-Dwelling Homeless Individuals with Psychiatric Disabilities." *Psychiatric Services* 51 (4): 487–93.

Vallas, Steven P., and Andrea Hill. 2012. "Conceptualizing Power in Organizations." 165–97 in *Rethinking Power in Organizations, Institutions, and Markets*, edited by David Courpasson, Damon Golsorkhi, and Jeffrey J. Sallaz. Bingley, UK: Emerald Group.

Wamsley, Gary L., and Mayer N. Zald. 1976. *The Political Economy of Public Organizations.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Wolcott, Harry F. 1994. *Transforming Qualitative Data: Description, Analysis, and Interpretation.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Zald, Mayer N. 1970. *Organizational Change: The Political Economy of the YMCA.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) Benefit Cycles and Student Disciplinary Infractions

LISA A. GENNETIAN
New York University

ROOPA SESHADRI
Chapin Hall at the University of Chicago

NATHAN D. HESS
University of Chicago

AARON N. WINN
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

ROBERT M. GOERGE
Chapin Hall at the University of Chicago

ABSTRACT   Does the timing and frequency of program benefits influence student school outcomes? The poor may be especially vulnerable to income scarcity at the end of welfare program benefit cycles. Such scarcity may strain other aspects of family life and exacerbate children's behavior problems. We use data from the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) and school disciplinary records to compare the incidence of disciplinary infractions at the beginning and end of months among Chicago Public School students in grades 5–8 whose families did and did not receive SNAP. Controlling for student and school characteristics, our estimates show that student disciplinary infractions generally spike at the end of the month irrespective of SNAP receipt status. However, spikes are exacerbated among students who receive SNAP benefits. The within-month difference in disciplinary infractions for students in SNAP recipient families is 7 percentage points larger than for nonrecipients. These differences are particularly pronounced for males.

INTRODUCTION

Poverty is associated with a host of unfavorable effects on children's developmental and schooling outcomes (Brooks-Gunn and Duncan 1997; Bradley

and Corwyn 2002). This income gap in student outcomes has spurred public and policy attention toward investments to improve access, cost, and quality of school-based settings as one platform to reduce inequality (Greene and Forster 2003; Swanson 2004; Sampson, Sharkey, and Raudenbush 2008; Chapman et al. 2011; Wodtke, Harding, and Elwert 2011; Aud et al. 2012; Wodtke, Elwert, and Harding 2012). Relatively less attention has been paid to the companion role of other types of non-school-setting-based family support—such as that derived from cash assistance or the social safety net—that may alleviate or exacerbate income gaps in schooling behavior and participation outcomes. In this study, we examine whether children's well-being, as measured by their school behavior, is related to public benefit disbursement cycles that are independent from the overall cash value of benefits. We specifically examine the influence of timing of Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) payments on student disciplinary in-fractions among students in middle school (grades 5–8) in Chicago Public Schools (CPS).

Public assistance, or transfer income, has contributed to reduced poverty levels among children (Fox et al. 2014). SNAP is increasingly one of the most likely sources of program support, with 1 in 5 children residing in SNAP-recipient families in 2014, up from 1 in 8 children in 2007 (Farson Gray and Kochhar 2015; US Census 2015). Designed to ensure that basic needs are met, social assistance payments supplement family income and, through mechanisms such as increased investment in children or decreased stress and improved parenting, are expected to improve children's school out-comes (Blank 2000; Gassman-Pines and Hill 2013; Duncan, Magnuson, and Vortruba-Drzal 2014). Social assistance payments are commonly disbursed once a month, and families attempt to budget accordingly (Friedman 1957; Hall 1978; Blank and Ruggles 1996; Laibson 1997). However, unexpected expenses coupled with insufficient income can leave families with scarce income between payments. The resulting financial and psychological stress of income scarcity could contribute to unfavorable consequences on chil-dren's schooling.

The timing of public benefit disbursement and the determination of that timing considerably varies across states (Castner and Henke 2011). At the time of writing, 8 states disburse SNAP benefits on the same day during the first week of the month and seven do so at the same time for everyone. In comparison, 15 states disburse SNAP benefits across different points of the month, and the majority use either a Social Security number, case number, or last name to determine the specific receipt date (US Department of

Agriculture 2016). Such variation in timing can be exploited to understand whether timing (or frequency) has independent implications on outcomes. In the case of SNAP, if beneficiaries have trouble smoothing food spending during the month (i.e., optimizing spending knowing that food stamp income will not be increased or replenished until the beginning of the next month and other income sources might not be predictable), and they have little to no savings or related financial cushions to draw on, some or all household members may have to reduce food consumption at the end of the benefit cycle (Stephens 2003, 2006).

Whereas SNAP may alleviate the financial trade-offs families make to meet consumption needs and expenses, many families experience food and income shortfalls at the end of the disbursement cycle and use a variety of coping strategies to make up for these shortfalls, such as reaching out to personal networks and food pantries or becoming more strategic bargain shoppers (Edin et al. 2013). A related coping strategy is reducing food consumption. Families that receive SNAP consume significantly fewer calories at the end of the benefit cycle (Shapiro 2005; Tarasuk, McIntyre, and Li 2007). In recent research documenting the lives of families in low-income neighborhoods of New Haven, Connecticut, 51 percent of mothers report that their families run out of food before the end of the month and rely on a food bank or soup kitchen when their food runs out or go without food (New Haven MOMS Partnership 2015). Depleted net family income, heightened at the end of benefit cycles, might contribute not only to hunger and time and effort spent seeking out alternative sources of income and food but also to family stress, to chaos in the home or disruption of routines, and to less attentive, warm, or responsive parenting (Edin et al. 2013; Gunderson 2015). These aspects of the home environment and parenting are general predictors of children's well-being and, as such, they may have additional influence on children's behavior in school by affecting children's emotions, stress, cognition, psychosocial functioning, and resulting academic participation and performance (Simeon and Grantham-McGregor 1989; Kleinman et al. 1998; Murphy et al. 1998; Pollitt, Cueto, and Jacoby 1998; Alaimo et al. 2001; Bellisle 2004).

This study extends prior research in several ways. First, we provide a look at the unanswered policy question of whether the cycle of safety net payments influences the outcomes of families and children, holding constant total cash value. We do so quasi-experimentally by comparing variation in outcomes of students within a month according to whether or not their families received SNAP benefits. To be valid, this strategy assumes that there

are no other co-timed infusions or outflows of income, which is a topic we return to below. Second, while an expansive literature examines the influence of large household financial or income shocks on children's academic achievement (such as job loss), our analysis looks more pointedly at how small, predictable shocks to household budgets, such as those that might occur monthly, might influence students' outcomes (Kalil and Ziol-Guest 2008; Figlio, Nelson, and Ross 2011; Hill et al. 2011). Third, as one consequence of the aftermath of the Great Recession and reduced accessibility of pure cash assistance, SNAP has become an increasingly important component of family economic resources (Brown 2010; Waves 2012). This has generated renewed policy and research attention to the effects of SNAP on its immediate targets, such as nutrition and hunger, as well as to broader indicators of family life and children's well-being (e.g., Gundersen and Ziliak 2014; Bartfeld et al. 2015; Oddo and Mabli 2015). Our analyses extend these lines of inquiry by examining the influences of SNAP disbursement on an important aspect of children's school behavior. Fourth, our empirical investigation is an example of how research questions in this area can use administrative data sources that, despite some limitations, allow for careful accounting of daily events, thus increasing the likelihood of detecting responsiveness to economic or related circumstances in the home environment occurring contemporaneously.

Our analysis merges administrative data from SNAP and school disciplinary records for students in grades 5–8 in CPS during the 2005–6 academic year. The most recent estimates suggest that over 80 percent of eligible individuals in Illinois currently participate in SNAP (Cunnyngham, Sukasih, and Castner 2016). We hypothesize that for the lowest-income families with little access to low-cost liquid assets or credit, the gap between when the current SNAP payment runs out and when the next payment arrives may represent a period of an income, and thus consumption, shortfall. The stress, hunger, and disruption from this shortfall may affect families and have negative repercussions on students, thus escalating acting-out behavior that leads to disciplinary action that may be observable in school.

BACKGROUND AND FRAMEWORK

Children from low-income families have poorer developmental outcomes, miss more school days, and perform unfavorably across a spectrum of school participation and educational achievement outcomes as compared with

their higher-income peers (Bradley and Corwyn 2002; Ready 2010; Chapman et al. 2011; Wodtke et al. 2011). The extant empirical literature includes specific explorations of mechanisms related to the role of food and nutrition in affecting student's abilities, school performance, health, and behavior (Gundersen and Kreider 2009; Anderson et al. 2016). Food hardship is particularly associated with behavior problems for students, even when controlling for other poverty-related variables (Slack and Yoo 2005; Whitaker, Phillips, and Orzol 2006; Gunderson and Ziliak 2014). Furthermore, research shows that the availability of school food programs is related to improved student test performance and fewer school absences (Meyers et al. 1989).

Whereas research has investigated the relationship between receipt of food assistance (SNAP benefits) and a variety of health, food security, and nutrition outcomes,[1] the relationship between SNAP and children's schooling outcomes is less well understood. Furthermore, what is understood from existing empirical work is often motivated from a conceptual framework that focuses on the effect of the absolute increase in the level of financial resources available to the family to devote to food or other needs. The frequency, timing, and ways in which benefits are received are second-order concerns, in part because theories support the notion that families will appropriately budget and embark on strategies to smooth their consumption given existing constraints such as the timing of payments and in part because such analyses require frequent measurement of outcomes (within-year or within-month).

Studies that track consumption across a wide variety of goods and services to timing of income find that consumption is notably higher immediately following an income payment than at other times in a payment cycle, especially among the poor (Hannon and Defronzo 1998; Wilde and Ranney 2000; Stephens 2003, 2006; Huffman and Barenstein 2004; Mastrobuoni and Weinberg 2009). For example, in a novel study, C. Fritz Foley (2011) examines data from 12 cities in which more than 10 percent of the population received SNAP and finds that patterns of crime are sensitive to the timing of welfare payments.[2] Another study finds that recipients of Supple-

---

1. For three recent reviews on SNAP and related food security concerns, see Gundersen and Ziliak (2014), Bartfeld et al. (2015), and White House Council of Economic Advisors (2015).

2. However, research has found that welfare payments reduce rates of criminal activity (Hannon and DeFronzo 1998).

mental Security Income (SSI) and Social Security Disability Income (SSDI) have significantly higher rates of drug-related hospital admissions and mortality at the start of the month when these benefits are disbursed and income is available to buy drugs and alcohol (Dobkin and Puller 2007). Consumption and mortality decline at the end of the prior month and increase at the beginning of the next month in the cycle (Evans and Moore 2009). More frequent payments, on the other hand, are associated with smoother consumption patterns. This finding is replicated with data from the United Kingdom and Japan (Stephens 2006; Stephens and Unayama 2010).

Research conducted specifically about SNAP has also uncovered a variety of associations between SNAP payments and nutritional intake and food purchasing behavior. A study (Shapiro 2005) using data from three large surveys shows that SNAP beneficiaries bought more food and consumed more calories at the start of the benefit month. This behavior did not appear to be strategic or driven by concern for theft, giving benefits to family, or food spoilage. Building on Jesse Shapiro's work, Justine Hastings and Ebonya Washington (2010) use scanner data from three Nevada stores and find that SNAP beneficiaries appear to buy less as the month progresses rather than sacrifice quality. They also find that stores increase food prices at the start of the month with rising demand, meaning that families could save money if they purchased items later in the month.

The poor may be especially sensitive to payment cycles. The lack of access to enough liquid assets to weather financial surprises, little savings, insurance coverage, or reliable low-cost credit options (Lusardi 1999; Barr 2004, 2009, 2012; Adams, Einav, and Levin 2009) may translate to reliance on financial options with high future costs (e.g., payday lenders). Qualitative studies document how families use a variety of financial coping strategies, ranging from reliance on family and friends to delaying paying bills that have the least effect on current budgets, such as overdue medical expenses (see Seefeldt and Castelli 2009; Edin et al. 2013; Tach and Sternberg-Greene 2014). Cutting back on expenses related to food or purchasing lower-quality, lower-priced food is one strategy to free up immediate income resources (Bhattacharya et al. 2003). Doing so can trigger hunger, which has been shown to negatively affect school performance (Kleinman et al. 1998; Murphy et al. 1998; Pollitt et al. 1998; Alaimo, Olsen, and Frongillo 2001; Alaimo et al. 2001; Bellisle 2004). Uncertainty of income and juggling of economic resources can also drain attention that could otherwise be directed

to managing the household or monitoring children (Mullainathan and Shafir 2013; Gennetian and Shafir 2015). Resulting financial coping strategies such as cutting back on food contribute to harsher or more restrictive parenting, less supervision and tolerance, and less attention to maintaining the home environment (Alaimo Olsen, and Frongillo 2001; Gershoff et al. 2007).

DATA AND SAMPLE

THE SUPPLEMENTAL NUTRITION ASSISTANCE PROGRAM (SNAP)

The Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 created SNAP (reconfigured from the original food stamp program, created in 1964) and the Food and Nutrition Service (FNS) of the US Department of Agriculture manages the program. In Illinois, the site of this study, the Department of Human Services (IDHS) administers SNAP. The program covers all individuals in a household who purchase and share food together. Households are eligible if their gross income falls below 130 percent of the federal poverty level. The monthly benefit is based on the size of the household, income, and allowable expenses. Benefits decrease as income approaches the eligibility limits. The benefits can be used to buy most food items, as well as plants and seeds to grow food. In Illinois, benefits are provided on a Link Card, an electronic card that is accepted at most grocery stores,[3] on the first of each month. Data on cases and beneficiaries from IDHS include start and end dates of cases from which spell files can be created for cases and individuals. We used individual spell files to determine whether a student was named in a SNAP case each month. SNAP determination qualifies for the entire month included in the certification period (thus, even if a family is technically not income-eligible mid-month, the family will continue to receive the monthly SNAP benefits).

CHICAGO PUBLIC SCHOOLS (CPS) DATA

Enrollment Data
Enrollment data for CPS are released in September and May of each school year and contain records for all students who are currently enrolled, as well as for all students who were enrolled at any point since 1991. Enrollment

---

3. For more on the Illinois Link Program, see http://www.dhs.state.il.us/page.aspx ?item=39186.

status at the time when we processed the data is recorded as either active or inactive. For inactive students, the data include the date they left CPS and the reason for their departure, as well as the date their record was last updated.

Along with the school where the student is (or was) enrolled, the data contain basic demographic information, such as the student's date of birth, gender, race, disability status, and grade. Other student data, such as attendance or academic achievement, are not recorded in the enrollment file. The data also reflect the school's enrollment information, including racial composition and the proportion of students who received free or reduced-price lunch. We use age rather than grade as a control variable, since the two are highly correlated and age is a better physical developmental predictor of growth, sensitivity to hunger, and susceptibility to engaging in risky behaviors. Student disability, special education status, and gender are also included as control variables. Of the 86 percent of students for whom data on free and reduced-price meal plan receipt are available, 95 percent are reported as receiving this benefit, and thus this indicator did not have enough variation to be useful for analytical purposes.

Discipline Data

As defined in CPS's Student Code of Conduct (Chicago Public Schools 2005), students are subject to disciplinary actions related to infractions occurring on school property, including in vehicles, at all school-sponsored events, and either off-campus or during non–school hours when the misconduct disrupts the educational process in CPS. The Uniform Discipline Code (UDC) lists six groups of violations that are numbered in increasing severity from 1–6 and that have numerous subcategories. We focus on groups 3–6, which include behaviors that seriously or very seriously disrupt the educational process, such as gambling, fighting, offensive language or gestures, vandalism, and theft. They also include major disruptions to the educational process, for which police are typically contacted. Previous Chapin Hall research shows that group 3 and higher offenses are recorded more reliably because of their severity and their clear path to consequences. Furthermore, many schools do not formally track offenses in groups 1 and 2, such as running in halls, tardiness, and disobeying personnel, in these administrative data records (Smithgall et al. 2005). Each infraction has its own set of interventions and consequences for first-time and repeat violations. As is

delineated in the UDC, these sanctions are modified on the basis of a student's age or grade level.

During the period under study, CPS's Bureau of Safety and Security (BSS) distributed data on UDC violations to the study's researchers as three files: serious discipline incidents only (groups 3 and higher), all incident types, and information on offenders. The most common violations at the highest level are fighting (21 percent, two people, no injuries), serious disobedience (21 percent), conduct that disrupts the educational process (e.g., bullying behaviors or offensive language, gestures, or behavior, 13 percent), profane language (9 percent), and fighting with two or more people or fighting with injury (3.4 percent). Fewer than 3 percent of the infractions are due to bullying, battery, possession of dangerous objects, assault, vandalism, possession of a weapon, or alcohol or substance use. The disciplinary action for repeated violations varies by the incident, from 1 to 10 days of school suspension for repeated violations of group 3 offenses to suspension for 10 days and being subject to expulsion or referral to disciplinary reassignment for group 5 offenses; suspensions can take the form of in-school or out-of-school suspensions. With some exceptions, such as forgery and gambling (group 3 offenses) or theft or false activation of alarms (group 4 offenses), school officials are required to notify local police departments about group 3 or higher offenses. Our analyses collectively examine group 3 or higher violations in aggregate over concerns of low incidence of any one specific event and low power to detect effects.

Panel Data

We created a panel data set using the CPS Enrollment and Discipline files. The study sample was created from students enrolled in grades 5–8 from September 2005 to June 2006, a period of time during which SNAP benefits continued to be disbursed only at the beginning of the month and for which the option to merge data was available via prior contractual agreement with CPS. We focused on fifth- to eighth-graders because the prevalence of disciplinary incidences was both low and inconsistently recorded among younger students. An analysis including high school students would be complicated because high school students may have more avenues and resources of nutrition and economic influence outside the home and school settings. Finally, children in middle school are in a period of transition in human development (maturing physically and emotionally) that is particularly sensitive to proper nutrition and household strife (McLoyd 1998;

Conger et al. 1999; Eamon 2002; Jyoti, Frongillo, and Jones 2005; Slack and Yoo 2005). Furthermore, children in this age range are of particular policy relevance for family-based income support because they are more likely to rely on family economic resources and to eat meals at home.

The study sample includes 117,002 students from 434 general and magnet schools. The sample excludes 15 specialized schools that cater to at-risk populations (such as those with special educational needs and pregnant teens), 23 charter schools (with 4,388 students) because they are not obligated to report disciplinary events to the state, schools that do not fall into the former two criteria but that have missing data on disciplinary events (we could not identify whether missing data was because of misreporting or no disciplinary events), and approximately 15 high schools that report less than 1 percent of students in seventh or eighth grade.

We constructed the discipline data set by linking disciplinary events to students who met these school criteria. We then merged student-level data with the individual-level SNAP variable. The resulting data set contains a variable for each of the up to 31 possible days in a month, which are used to record whether or not a student had a disciplinary incident on a given day.[4] We consolidated data to the week given our hypotheses and because the relationship between timing of SNAP and daily probability of an incident is likely too subtle to capture. We based weeks on 7 calendar days (week 1 was the 1st through the 7th, week 2 was the 8th through the 14th, week 3 was the 15th through the 21st, and week 4 was the 22nd to the end of month). We calculated the number of discipline incidents per week of each month along with the number of eligible school days during that week, and we adjusted for eligible school days in a given week by weighting the analysis. We excluded days when school was not scheduled to be in session (weekends and school breaks).

Unfortunately, we were unable to further merge these data with information about student attendance. Hence, the panel data assume that a student is in school and at risk for, or eligible to be observed in, a school disciplinary infraction. Not adjusting for school absences may bias the

---

4. CPS offers this guidance about recording an event: "Staff shall consider all mitigating circumstances prior to disciplinary action." Mitigating circumstances include "age, health, maturity, and academic placement of a student" (see http://policy.cps.edu/download.aspx ?ID=263). These day variables were dichotomized to indicate whether an incident occurred or did not occur on days when school was in session and is coded as zero on weekend days and scheduled school vacation days.

results if students experiencing more hunger or more income scarcity at the end of the month are also less likely to attend school. A recent study of Baltimore students finds that students who were eligible for free or reduced-price lunch (roughly comparable to the school population of Chicago) were more likely to be chronically absent (defined as missing more than 20 days for both excused or unexcused reasons) than intermittently absent (Sundius and Farneth 2008). Thus, any detectable results in our analyses may in fact be conservative. The other possible related confounds for attendance are suspensions, expulsions, and dropouts. We accounted for students who dropped out by using the exact date a student left the CPS system. Whereas residential and school mobility may be high among low-income families, most moves occur within similar geographic zones (Sharkey 2012). Dropout rates for middle school students are negligible; historically, about 2 percent of Chicago students drop out in middle school compared with 35–40 percent of high school students (Allensworth and Easton 2001). For our analysis we must assume that suspensions due to disciplinary infractions are not cyclically correlated with our analysis or, for example, that students who are suspended due to a disciplinary infraction at the end of the prior month are absent at the beginning of the subsequent month.

After examining plots of the daily discipline rate for each month, we decided to confine our analysis to October through May, owing to a unique ramping-up effect in discipline in September when the academic year was just underway. We also observed a natural slowdown of disciplinary reports in June in anticipation of the start of summer vacation. The exclusion of September and June data did not substantively alter the main results.

SAMPLE AND DESCRIPTIVE CHARACTERISTICS

Table 1 shows student characteristics, and table 2 presents school characteristics of the sample. Overall, 50.9 percent of the students were female, and a similar gender ratio is seen among students who did and did not receive SNAP. About one-half of the students were black (50.9 percent), 11.6 percent were white/other, and 37.5 percent were Hispanic. Of SNAP recipients, 72.9 percent were black. Nearly 16 percent of students were identified as having a learning disability. As shown in table 2, the average number of students enrolled in the schools in the sample is 270 (SD = 138). Slightly more than half of the schools participated in the Afterschool Snack

TABLE 1. Selected Demographic Characteristics of Students, Grades 5–8, Chicago Public Schools, 2005–6

	SNAP		No SNAP		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Gender[a]:						
Male	19,632	49.5	37,773	48.8	57,405	49.1
Female	20,001	50.5	39,596	51.2	59,597	50.9
Race[a]:						
Black	28,900	72.9	30,684	39.7	59,584	50.9
Hispanic	8,869	22.4	35,026	45.3	43,895	37.5
White/other	1,864	4.7	11,659	15.1	13,523	11.6
Age group[b]:						
10 and younger	7,554	19.1	15,513	20.1	23,067	19.7
11	10,713	27.0	18,107	23.4	28,820	24.6
12	10,824	27.3	18,540	24.0	29,364	25.1
13	7,423	18.7	20,327	26.3	27,750	23.7
14 and older	3,119	7.9	4,882	6.3	8,001	6.8
Grade[a]:						
5	11,022	27.8	18,329	23.7	29,351	25.1
6	11,982	30.2	20,086	26.0	32,068	27.4
7	9,001	22.7	18,977	24.5	27,978	23.9
8	7,628	19.3	19,977	25.8	27,605	23.6
Had any discipline event[c]	6,721	17.0	8,029	10.4	14,750	12.6
Average number of discipline events among offenders[c]	1.6		1.5		1.6	
Had learning disability[a]	6,658	16.8	11,453	14.8	18,111	15.5
In school with ASP[d]	24,230	61.1	39,966	51.7	64,196	54.9

Note.—SNAP = Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program; ASP = Afterschool Snack Program.
[a] Chicago Public Schools (CPS) enrollment data, May 2006.
[b] Author calculations, Chapin Hall at the University of Chicago, from birth date recorded in CPS enrollment data, 2006. Age calculated at September 1, 2005.
[c] CPS disciplinary files from CPS Bureau of Safety and Security, 2006.
[d] Illinois 8ureau of Food Services, 2006.

Program.[5] For this analysis, schools were counted as participating in the Afterschool Snack Program if they were enrolled in it for 5 or more months between September and May.

Purely for descriptive purposes, table 3 presents a summary of disciplinary incidents per school per year. Seventeen percent of students receiving SNAP had a UDC group 3 or greater disciplinary event during the 2005–6 school year (with an average of 1.6 events). This compares with 10.4 percent for students whose families did not receive SNAP (with an average of 1.5 events). The incidence of student disciplinary actions in each school was

5. This program is administered by the US Department of Agriculture and is part of the National School Lunch Program (see http://www.fns.usda.gov/cnd/afterschool/). A school is considered eligible if the aftercare program it is associated with is located at a school or in the attendance area of a school where at least 50 percent of the enrolled children are eligible for free or reduced-price meals.

TABLE 2. Selected Characteristics of Schools, Grades 5–8, Chicago Public Schools, 2005–6

Variable	Mean	SD
Afterschool Snack Program (%)	56	
Grades 5–8 enrollment	270	138
Attendance rate	94.5	2.19
Chronic truancy rate	1.48	3.01
Total number of schools in sample	434	

Source.—Authors' calculations from CPS enrollment data; CPS annual school attendance data, May 2006; CPS Bureau of Safety and Security, 2006; and Illinois Bureau of Food Services, 2006.

TABLE 3. Discipline Incidents by School, Grades 5–8, Chicago Public Schools, 2005–6

	SNAP		No SNAP	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Ever had discipline event (%)	17.0		10.4	
Mean discipline events among offenders	1.6	1.4	1.5	1.2
Discipline events in first week[a]	61.2	282.7	36.1	215.9
Discipline events in second week[a]	55.8	270.0	31.0	196.6
Discipline events in third week[a]	69.1	305.5	39.1	225.6
Discipline events in fourth week[a]	86.1	354.9	49.5	263.8

Source.—CPS enrollment data, May 2006; CPS Bureau of Safety and Security, 2006.

Note.—Table displays raw statistics, unweighted for eligible school days and unadjusted for available socioeconomic and demographic characteristics.

[a] Scaled to be interpreted as per 1,000 students.

higher during the last week of the month for all students—both those whose families received SNAP and those whose families did not. We can see from this simple descriptive table that the difference in student disciplinary infractions (unweighted for eligible school days and unadjusted for socioeconomic or demographic characteristics) from week 1 to week 4 is higher among students in SNAP families: a 41 percent increase compared with a 37 percent increase among students whose families did not receive SNAP.

METHODOLOGY

Our study specifically exploits the within-month timing of the SNAP disbursement cycle. At the time of this study, no other public program in Chicago dispensed benefits on the same monthly cycle as SNAP, thereby minimizing potential concerns about confounding the relationship between SNAP benefits and other transfer programs.[6] We compare the difference in

6. The Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) program may be of greatest concern. In Illinois, monthly cash payment disbursement is based on an assigned group number

the number of disciplinary events in week 1 (the first calendar week when SNAP benefits are dispensed) and week 4 (the last calendar week of a month, when we hypothesized that income scarcity would be heightened). We do this for two groups: students in SNAP families and students in families that did not receive SNAP (and thus we derive a "difference in difference" estimation). The estimates are derived through a multiple regression approach in which the primary predictors are whether or not a student's family received a SNAP benefit in a given month, controlling for the observation calendar week within the month, and the interaction effects of the calendar week with SNAP receipt. In addition, we control for student-level characteristics, such as gender, race/ethnicity, age, and whether a student had a disability record with CPS. Students with disabilities or Institutional Educational Plans have a slightly modified set of protocols and disciplinary procedures than the rest of the student body. The basic empirical model is (Angrist and Pischke 2009):

$$y_{ijk} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 \text{SNAP}_{ik} + \delta_0 \text{Week} + \delta_1(\text{SNAP}_{ik} \times \text{Week}) + \omega_i + \varepsilon_{ijk},$$

where y_{ijk} is the number of disciplinary infractions for the i-th student in week (j) of month (k); β_1 are the coefficients corresponding to X_i, which are student characteristics; ω_i is a random student effect; β_2 is the coefficients corresponding to SNAP_{ik}, capturing general differences between students who do and do not receive SNAP in any one month; δ_0 is the week-of-the month effect, capturing within-month secular trends; and δ_1 is the interaction coefficient between a student's SNAP status and week effects. The estimate (and standard errors) derived from the coefficients in this model are converted into a difference-in-difference estimate as a relative percentage change. We adjust the standard errors for intracluster correlation of multiple observations per student and multiple students per family or household and use Poisson regression techniques because of the binary nature of the data.[7]

---

by last name. For example, in July 2012, Group 01 covered last names beginning with A–CH, and families received their TANF payment on July 3. Subsequent disbursement dates were on July 8, 11, 14, 17, 19, 21, and 23. The disbursement date does not change as long as a family continues to be eligible.

7. Although the outcome is dichotomous in nature, the binomial distribution does not represent it appropriately due to the low incidence rate. Poisson distributions are more suited to binary data with rare events, as it is a limiting case of the binomial distribution and approximates the binomial distribution well for large sample sizes (McCullagh and Nelder 1989).

The empirical estimates derived from this model are not free from all forms of omitted variable bias.[8] However, the resulting biases that exist are of a particular type, as they must be derived from time-varying characteristics of students within a month, or time-varying characteristics of schools within a month, and, further, each of these unobserved time-varying within-month characteristics must further vary within a particular calendar year.

We conducted a number of additional analyses to determine whether the observed differences and patterns were driven by specific subgroups. First, we focused on whether students had access to consistently available supplemental sources of nutrition outside the home. More specifically, we tested whether the difference-in-difference results varied by whether the school offered an Afterschool Snack Program, which could ameliorate the negative effect of lower food consumption at the end of the SNAP benefit cycle in week 4. School breakfast programs were piloted in select Chicago elementary schools in 2005–6 and then scaled up in 2007 beyond the time frame of our analysis. Second, based on differences observed in the unadjusted rates and existing literature about differential rates of externalizing or acting out behaviors by gender, we re-estimated the models separately for female and male youth (Cook and Laub 2001). Finally, we controlled for a student's lifetime duration of SNAP receipt, or the total number of months that a student's family had received SNAP since the student's birth. Longer lifetime receipt of SNAP may be associated with persistent and frequent experiences with income instability and thus a habituation to end-of-cycle hunger.

RESULTS

Figure 1 presents the unweighted and unadjusted rates of disciplinary events per week during the 2005–6 school year. In all weeks, students receiving SNAP had higher rates of disciplinary actions than students not receiving SNAP ($p < .001$). Although disciplinary actions trend generally higher at the end of the month for all students, a few visible spikes at or near

---

8. We assumed that the SNAP disbursement schedule in October of the school year was unrelated to the SNAP disbursement schedule in November or other months of the academic school year. This is referred to as *contemporaneous exogeneity*. For more, see Bertrand, Duflo, and Mullainathan (2004) and Angrist and Pischke (2009, chap. 5 and references); Donald and Lang (2007) provide technical details about these assumptions.
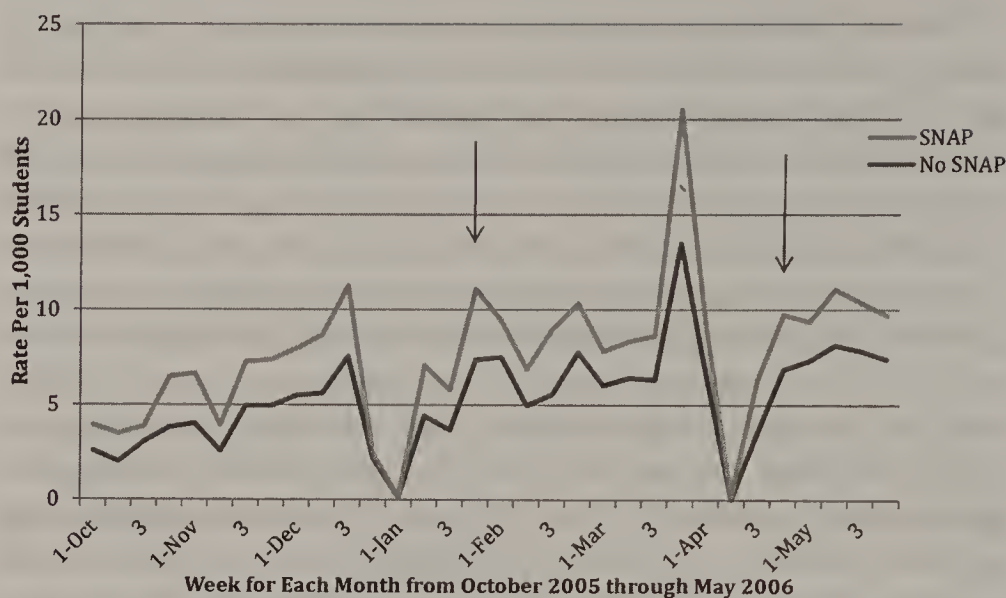
FIGURE 1. Arrows are used to highlight times when peaks in disciplinary infractions among SNAP-recipient students co-occur at the end of the month. Rates are unadjusted and have not been weighted for the number of eligible school days per week/month. A colored version of this figure is available online.

the end of the month are apparent among students receiving SNAP.[9] For example, a spike is evident between weeks 3 and 4 in October among students receiving SNAP (an unadjusted rate of 3.9 in week 3 and 6.5 in week 4). This compares with a smoother and flatter pattern among students not receiving SNAP (3.05 in week 3 and 3.81 in week 4). Similar steep increases are also evident between weeks 3 and 4 in January and April. Note that these descriptive spikes do not appear to entirely follow a seasonal pattern for the students receiving SNAP, but they somewhat do so for the students who are not receiving SNAP.

Table 4 includes fully weighted and adjusted results. For ease of interpretation, the results convert the coefficients into means (as percentage differences) for the total sample, and then separately for (i) male and female students, (ii) whether the school has an Afterschool Snack Program, and (iii) controlling for the household's prior receipt of SNAP.

Among all students whose families received SNAP, we find a 0.306 (or 50.6 percent) increase in disciplinary actions when comparing week 1 to

9. The dips in disciplinary events at the end of December and in mid-April correspond to school vacation periods. The unusual spike appearing near the end of March is an artifact of the raw statistics, as the last week of March is counted as having 8 school days.

TABLE 4. Difference in Difference Results, Disciplinary Events per Thousand Students, by Week by SNAP Family Status, Grades 5–8, Chicago Public Schools, 2005–6

	SNAP			No SNAP			Change % Difference	Difference-in-Difference	p-Value
	Week 1	Week 4	% Difference	Week 1	Week 4	% Difference			
All schools	.603 (.017)	.909 (.024)	.506	.602 (.015)	.840 (.021)	.395	.111	.068	<.001
Females only	.227 (.011)	.387 (.019)	.706	.219 (.010)	.346 (.016)	.580	.126	.033	<.001
Male only	1.292 (.043)	1.866 (.060)	.444	1.287 (.039)	1.725 (.050)	.341	.103	.136	<.001
Non-ASP schools	.523 (.027)	.824 (.041)	.576	.482 (.023)	.705 (.033)	.462	.114	.078	<.001
ASP schools	.672 (.026)	1.027 (.038)	.528	.703 (.026)	.992 (.034)	.412	.116	.066	<.001
Controlling for time on SNAP	.537 (.015)	.804 (.022)	.499	.648 (.017)	.900 (.023)	.390	.109	.015	<.001

Note.—Coefficient estimates are converted to means to be interpreted as percent change, derived directly from the full multivariate model. Standard errors are in parentheses. SNAP = Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program; ASP = Afterschool Snack Program.

week 4 ($p < .001$). The comparable estimate for students not receiving SNAP is 0.238 (or a 39.5 percent increase, $p < .001$). Notably, as shown in the last column of table 4, the week 1 versus week 4 percent increase in disciplinary actions between students receiving and not receiving SNAP differs statistically at 6.8 percentage points (SE = 1.4). Although the samples are too small to calculate outcomes separately for each disciplinary action (differentiating, e.g., a group 4 event from a group 6 event), the patterns showing a higher number of reported events in week 4 than week 1 are qualitatively similar for each level. A majority (75 percent) of these incidents resulted in school suspensions. Of 25,222 incidents (group 3 and above), 19,016 incidents resulted in an out-of-school suspension. These suspensions occurred among 11,880 students (or about 80 percent of the 14,752 students who had at least one reported group 3–6 incident), with an average length of suspension of three days.

We also separately estimated effects for males and females. In general, we observe higher rates of disciplinary actions for males, which is broadly consistent with generally higher rates of antisocial behaviors among male youth (Cook and Laub 2001). Table 4 further shows that the difference-in-difference estimate for males is substantively and statistically higher (13.6 percentage points) than for females (3.3 percentage points).

SCHOOL-LEVEL HETEROGENEITY

Chicago public schools for fifth- to eighth-graders share many common characteristics in terms of availability of school resources and populations served. As previously noted, over 85 percent of students in these schools receive free or reduced-price school meals. However, schools may vary in the ways in which they interpret and implement school disciplinary policy. Although such school-based variation might influence overall disciplinary rates, it would have to specifically correlate with the mix of SNAP and non-SNAP students within the school and, further, those correlations would have to systematically vary by month to produce worrisome biases on our estimates. Nonetheless we employed two strategies to attempt to control for any remaining school-based heterogeneity. The first is a relatively conventional approach to control for a school-level fixed effect. For such a model to converge, each school in our sample must have a distinguishable (though distinguishable static) feature. Unfortunately, these models did not converge. The school fixed effect model also did not converge under two additional

tests that we thought might increase the likelihood of convergence or decrease the likelihood of individual school-based collinearity: (i) excluding small schools with fewer than 200 students and (ii) excluding schools with extremely low proportions of students (fewer than 10 percent) receiving SNAP benefits. Our second strategy was empirically informed. We constructed a school-based indicator defined as the slope of the linear trend of the school-level discipline rate (percent of students who had a disciplinary event) during the 4 weeks, aggregated over the entire school year. We classified the trend as strongly decreasing, decreasing, flat, increasing, or strongly increasing during the course of the month. The thresholds for the categories are ≤ -0.01 to > -0.01; -0.002; > -0.002 to < 0.002; 0.002 to < 0.015; and ≥ 0.015. We used this raw measure of the overall behavior of students within a school as a proxy to capture other unobservable characteristics of the school. Results with the categorical sorting of schools by overall disciplinary rates are qualitatively similar.

INCREASE IN DISCIPLINARY EVENTS AMONG NON-SNAP STUDENTS

It is difficult to pinpoint why there is an increase in disciplinary actions among students who were not receiving SNAP. One possibility is that other school-level events coincide with the end of the month, yet there is little evidence this is the case. Teachers in Illinois, for example, are not paid at the end of the month, and testing or assessments or school meetings are also not regularly scheduled at the end of the month.[10] Another possibility is that SNAP students were unduly drawing other students into disciplinary infractions. Approximately one-fifth of the incidents involved more than one student and, among those, one-half involved at least one SNAP student and one student who was not receiving SNAP. This translates to approximately 10 percent of all incidents and might be a mechanism explaining the cycling among non-SNAP students. A third possibility is that holidays, which tend to fall at the end of the month, increase or escalate stress and this can trigger behavioral issues in students (whether or not they are receiving SNAP). Indeed, figure 1 suggests that some of the uptick in disciplinary events

10. See details of compensation amounts and schedules on the Chicago Teacher's Union site, http://www.ctunet.com/, and see the Chicago Public Schools site for details on schedules for assessments, http://cps.edu/SchoolData/Pages/Assessment.aspx.

among non-SNAP students (that we detect on average in our estimates) appears near the end of the month in November (Thanksgiving) and December (Christmas and other winter holidays).

Another possibility is that heterogeneity in the sample of students not receiving SNAP might upwardly bias estimates. In addition to those who are ineligible for SNAP benefits, this group contains students who may be eligible but are not receiving SNAP benefits or, given that SNAP beneficiary status is determined each month, may have once received SNAP but were not eligible during the study period. We reran the analysis limiting the non–SNAP group to students who had never received SNAP benefits from September 2005 to June 2006, and the difference-in-difference estimate doubled, providing some evidence that within-year heterogeneity in families' SNAP receipt produces a downward bias in estimates.

POTENTIAL CONFOUNDS

Our identification strategy relies on the assumption that no other income disbursement or consumption expenditure has the same schedule as SNAP benefit payments during the time period under investigation. Although we could not formally test this assumption owing to data limitations and a lack of information about all possible income inflows (and outflows), we describe circumstances that would have to be present in order to present risks to violating this assumption. One confound is receipt of income from other public sources, particularly since eligibility for certain programs such as Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) deems individuals or families categorically eligible for other programs such as SNAP. In 2005, only 10 percent of all children in the city of Chicago received TANF payments, and, as described in footnote 8, even if a small proportion of children in our sample were receiving both TANF and SNAP, the timing of disbursement differed. Other social assistance programs, such as free or reduced-price food programs or Social Security Income (SSI), are not disbursed as cash income or are disbursed on varying schedules (e.g., based on birthday, or last name, or an equivalent randomization based on case ID). A second source of confounding income is from private sources. Whereas the majority of jobs pay weekly, bi-weekly, or semi-monthly, we cannot definitively rule out monthly paychecks (nearly 10 percent of private businesses report paying monthly) during the first week of the month (Burgess 2014). Income conditional on employment, such as the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) and

similar programs, are almost exclusively lump-sum payments during the first quarter of the calendar year. Families may also be receiving child support or other private sources of income that could be co-timed with SNAP benefit receipt at the beginning of the month, though child support receipt among low-income custodial parents can be erratic and, depending on state policy, passed through TANF disbursement.[11] Another possible confounder is school-based dynamics, even though we control for school-level variables. As noted, we could not uncover any compensation schemes or related events that consistently occur for teachers or other school administrators monthly. Finally, we do not have information about the timing of monthly expenditures that could equivalently influence within-month availability of net income. The largest expense, rent, is commonly due at the beginning of the month (Joint Center for Housing Studies 2015).

MECHANISMS

Our analyses and the available data are not well suited for exploring why end-of-month disciplinary actions are higher than at the beginning of the month for students receiving SNAP. However, we can take advantage of the data we do have on other aspects of family or the environment to examine whether hunger plays a role. We first examine whether the availability of an Afterschool Snack Program in the student's school attenuates any observed disciplinary event effect. For the schools that elect to participate, Afterschool Snack Programs provide cash subsidies to schools to provide free or reduced-price snacks as a supplement to their existing after-school programs (with the exception of athletics). Table 4 shows that the difference-in-difference estimate for students in the non–Afterschool Snack Program schools (7.8 percentage points) is slightly higher than that for students in Afterschool Snack Program schools (6.6 percentage points). This provides some evidence, albeit weak, that food provided through alternative sources might alleviate hunger to some extent or interfere with potential hunger-triggered disciplinary behavior associated with the timing of SNAP disbursement.

A second available measure is long-term receipt of SNAP benefits. Over time, families and children may adapt to ongoing benefit receipt and its

11. A description of child support determination, enforcement, and disbursement can be found at the web site of National Conference of State Legislatures: http://www.ncsl.org /research/human-services/child-support-homepage.aspx.

disbursement cycle and, thus, persistent end-of-cycle scarcity or instability. Thus, those who have been receiving SNAP longer may have fewer disciplinary actions because of their adaptation. As shown in the last row of table 4, controlling for this prior experience on SNAP substantively reduces the difference-in-difference estimate to 1.5 percentage points. Therefore, the analyses separating students by presence of Afterschool Snack Programs and by longer-term receipt of SNAP suggest some potential mechanisms that merit further research.

DISCUSSION

Social assistance can serve as a substantial family income support that complements school-based education initiatives to address observed income gaps in children's schooling outcomes. Relatively few studies have examined how the structure, per se, of these types of income assistance might contribute to differences in children's school outcomes by family income. We find that students whose families received SNAP were more likely than students whose families did not receive SNAP to have disciplinary infractions at the end of the monthly SNAP disbursement cycle than at the beginning of the cycle. This effect is particularly pronounced for male students.

Although the overall incidence of serious disciplinary issues is low, given their severity, these infractions are costly to the student and to the school community. As previously described, the majority of infractions are attributed to fighting or conduct that is disruptive to the educational process. Nationally, the 2007 "Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance" by the Centers for Disease Control reports that 5.5 percent of students intentionally missed school in the past 30 days from fear of other students (Eaton et al. 2008). These absences translate to 34 fewer dollars allocated to the school for each day missed (assuming 180 days in a school year with $6,119 allocated per student per year). Further, out-of-school suspensions, which are one potential outcome of a disciplinary infraction, are associated with an increased subsequent likelihood of dropping out and engaging in risky behavior. Analyses of students in Florida indicate that being suspended once in ninth grade is associated with a two-fold increase in the risk of dropping out (Fabelo et al. 2011). A seventh- to twelfth-grade student who has been suspended or expelled for a discretionary violation in Texas is three times more likely to be in contact with the juvenile justice system the following year (Balfanz, Byrnes, and Fox 2012).

Our study design, by examining within-month differences, attempts to overcome several concerns about omitted variable bias but cannot rule out all forms of selection bias. One major concern is that SNAP is voluntary and households that decide to enroll in SNAP may be systematically different from households that do not enroll despite being eligible. Whether enrolled or not, households may vary in the actual levels of food sufficiency and security. Households that enroll may be better able to cope with end-of-cycle scarcity or may be able to budget better. This particular type of selection bias is not likely to affect our main results, because we rely on within-month heterogeneity within the group of families receiving SNAP. The second concern might be that schools might differ in their treatment of disciplinary rules and that this might systematically vary by the mix of students who receive SNAP. Our findings were similar when controlling for an overall indicator of school disciplinary behavior; further, such school-level bias would have to be varying within the unit of a month for each month of an academic year.

The majority of cash and in-kind public benefits are disbursed monthly. States vary in their timing of disbursement of SNAP (and related public assistance) benefits and in the determination of that timing. If student disciplinary infractions and other aspects of children's well-being were uniquely sensitive to the timing of benefit disbursement, then it would be possible to observe spikes in behavior co-timed with end of the disbursement cycle. The crux of our identifying strategy has features that are generalizable to other studies with data from other states and localities in the United States. The strategy also could be applied to the analysis of other safety net programs that are disbursed on predetermined cycles and could uncover a wealth of information about the relationship between student-level schooling outcomes and income support and safety net programs (see, e.g., recent work by Gassman-Pines and Bellows [2015] with administrative data from North Carolina).

Our work has policy relevance for social assistance programs and implicitly for the interaction of such policies with education initiatives. First, and importantly, eligible low-income students and their families could substantially benefit from adjustments or increases to SNAP benefits as a strategy to reduce hunger or food insecurity that may be a contributing factor to poor performance or increased disciplinary infractions at school (Rawlings et al. 2015; Whitmore Schazenbach and Bauer 2016). Absent the policy option to increase SNAP benefits (or redirect SNAP benefits of varying levels

to different types of families), several states have discussed altering the timing and frequency of disbursement. Might delivering SNAP benefits more frequently, perhaps twice a month, have favorable influences on family life and children? The United Kingdom has historically dispensed public benefits twice a month to address short-term cash flow difficulties observed among recipients (Oxfordshire Welfare Rights 2010). Income-poor students, particularly those in urban areas, also tend to be clustered in the same schools and thus are the targets of both education and income support programs. With this in mind, education policy and practice might also consider comparable types of low-cost solutions by, for example, considering the timing of test administration and related academic-oriented events. As suggested by the estimates of the effects of Afterschool Snack Programs, a slightly higher-cost solution might focus on making food available for students during anticipated times of income scarcity at home (as a supplement to day-to-day availability of within-school food programs).

Relying on merged administrative data sources limits our ability to pinpoint a particular mechanism underlying the spike in disciplinary events at the end of the month. The most plausible explanations for the spike include hunger or parenting stress owing to financial difficulties. Further research is warranted to better understand the mechanisms and outcomes stemming from income variability, whether because of end-of-cycle scarcity, parenting stress, or other strategies related to coping with episodic income shortfalls.

NOTE

Lisa A. Gennetian is a research professor at New York University with expertise in child poverty. Her recent portfolio of research documents and examines the implications of economic instability among income-poor children. She currently directs an initiative applying insights from the behavioral sciences to improve the design of early childhood interventions and support parent engagement and positive parenting behavior.

Roopa Seshadri is a senior researcher at Chapin Hall at the University of Chicago with expertise in child well-being and policy in the context of human services, especially as they pertain to vulnerable populations, disparities in preventive health care, and healthcare access and outcomes.

Nathan D. Hess is a senior analyst at the University of Chicago Crime Lab conducting research on a large-scale randomized control trial testing the effects of mentoring and math tutoring programs for at-risk youth in Chicago Public Schools.

Aaron N. Winn is a fourth-year graduate student at the School of Public Health, Department of Health Policy and Management, at the University of North Carolina Chapel Hill, studying pharmaceutical policy.

Robert M. Goerge is a senior fellow at Chapin Hall at the University of Chicago with expertise on a variety of issues related to child care and child welfare, and improving the available data and information on children and families, particularly those who require specialized services related to maltreatment, disability, poverty, or violence.

REFERENCES

Adams, William, Liran Einav, and Jonathan Levin. 2009. "Liquidity Constraints and Imperfect Information in Subprime Lending." *American Economic Review* 99 (1): 49–84.

Alaimo, Katherine, Christine M. Olson, and Edward A. Frongillo Jr. 2001. "Food Insufficiency and American School-Aged Children's Cognitive, Academic, and Psychosocial Development." *Pediatrics* 108 (1): 44–53.

Alaimo, Katherine, Christine M. Olson, Edward A. Frongillo Jr., and Ronette R. Briefel. 2001. "Food Insufficiency, Family Income, and Health in US Preschool and School-Aged Children." *American Journal of Public Health* 91 (5): 781–86.

Allensworth, Elaine, and John Q. Easton. 2001. "Calculating a Cohort Dropout Rate for the Chicago Public Schools: A Technical Research Report." Report, Consortium on Chicago School Research, Chicago.

Anderson, Patricia M., Kristin F. Butcher, Hillary W. Hoynes, and Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach. 2016. "Beyond Income: What Else Predicts Very Low Food Security among Children?" *Southern Economic Journal* 82:1078–1105.

Angrist, Joshua D., and Jörn-Steffen Pischke. 2009. *Mostly Harmless Econometrics: An Empiricist's Companion.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Aud, Susan, William Hussar, Frank Johnson, Grace Kena, Erin Roth, Eileen Manning, Xiaolei Wang, Jijun Zhang, and Liz Notter. 2012. "The Condition of Education 2012." Vol. NCES 2012-033, National Center for Education Statistics, Washington, DC.

Balfanz, Robert, Vaughan Byrnes, and Joanna Fox. 2012. "Sent Home and Put Off Track: The Antecedents, Dispropotionalities and Consequences of Being Suspended in Ninth Grade." Working paper, School of Education, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

Barr, Michael. 2004. "Banking the Poor: Policies to Bring Low-Income Americans into Financial Mainstream." Brookings Institution, Washington, DC.

———. 2009. "Financial Services, Saving, and Borrowing among Low- and Moderate-Income Households: Evidence from the Detroit Area Household Financial Services Survey." 66–96 in *Insufficient Funds: Savings, Assets, Credit, and Banking among Low-Income Households,* edited by Rebecca M. Blank and Michael S. Barr. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

―――. 2012. *No Slack: The Financial Lives of Low-Income Americans.* Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

Bartfeld, Judith, Craig Gundersen, Timothy M. Smeeding, and James P. Ziliak, eds. 2015. *SNAP Matters: How Food Stamps Affect Health and Well Being.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press

Bellisle, France. 2004. "Effects of Diet on Behaviour and Cognition in Children." *British Journal of Nutrition* 92:S227–S232.

Bertrand, Marianne, Esther Duflo, and Sendhil Mullainathan. 2004. "How Much Should We Trust Differences-in-Differences Estimates?" *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 119 (1): 249–75.

Bhattacharya, Jayanta, Thomas DeLeire, Steven Haider, and Janet Currie. 2003. "Heat or Eat? Cold-Weather Shocks and Nutrition in Poor American Families." *American Journal of Public Health* 93 (7): 1149–54.

Blank, Rebecca M. 2000. "Fighting Poverty: Lessons from Recent US History." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 14 (2): 3–19.

Blank, Rebecca M., and Patricia Ruggles. 1996. "When Do Women Use Aid to Families with Dependent Children and Food Stamps?" *Journal of Human Resources* 31 (1): 57–89.

Bradley, Robert H., and Robert F. Corwyn. 2002. "Socioeconomic Status and Child Development." *Annual Review of Psychology* 53 (1): 371–99.

Brooks-Gunn, Jeanne, and Greg J. Duncan. 1997. "The Effects of Poverty on Children." *Future of Children* 7 (2): 55–71.

Brown, Kay E. 2010. "Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program: Payment Errors and Trafficking Have Declined, but Challenges Remain." Testimony before the Subcommittee on Department Operations, Oversight, Nutrition, and Forestry, Committee on Agriculture, US House of Representatives, published by the US Government Accountability Office, Washington, DC.

Burgess, Matthew. 2014. "How Frequently Do Private Businesses Pay Workers?" *Beyond the Numbers: Pay and Benefits* 3 (11), Bureau of Labor Statistics, Washington, DC.

Castner, Laura, and Juliette Henke. 2011. "Benefit Redemption Patterns in the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program." Final report, Food and Nutrition Service, US Department of Agriculture, Washington, DC.

Chapman, Chris, Jennifer Laird, Nicole Ifill, and Angelina Kewal Ramani. 2011. "Trends in High School Dropout and Completion Rates in the United States: 1972–2009." National Center for Education Statistics, Institute of Education Sciences, US Department of Education, Washington, DC.

Chicago Public Schools. 2005. "The Student Code of Conduct for all Chicago Public Schools Students." http://www.cps.edu/About_CPS/The_Board_of_Education/Documents/Board Actions/2005_07/05-0727-PO1.pdf.

Conger, Rand, Katherine Conger, Lisa Matthews, and Glen Elder. 1999. "Pathways of Economic Influence on Adolescent Adjustment." *American Journal of Community Psychology* 27 (4): 519–41.

Cook, Philip J., and John H. Laub. 2001. "After the Epidemic: Recent Trends in Youth Violence in the United States." NBER Working Paper no. 8571, National Bureau of Economic Research, Cambridge, MA.

Cunnyngham, Karen E., Amang Sukasih, and Laura A. Castner. 2016. "Empirical Bayes Shrinkage Estimates of State Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program Rates in Fiscal Year 2011 to Fiscal Year 2013 for All Eligible People and the Working Poor." Mathematica Policy Research, Washington, DC.

Dobkin, Carlos, and Steven L. Puller. 2007. "The Effects of Government Transfers on Monthly Cycles in Drug Abuse, Hospitalization, and Mortality." *Journal of Public Economics* 91 (11–12): 2137–57.

Donald, Stephen G., and Kevin Lang. 2007. "Inference with Difference-in-Differences and Other Panel Data." *Review of Economics and Statistics* 89 (2): 221–33.

Duncan, Greg J., Katherine Magnuson, and Elizabeth Votruba-Drzal. 2014. "Boosting Family Income to Promote Child Development." *Future of Children* 24 (1): 99–120.

Eamon, Mary K. 2002. "Influences and Mediators of the Effect of Poverty on Youth Adolescent Depressive Symptoms." *Journal of Youth and Adolescence* 31 (3): 231–42.

Eaton, Danice, Laura Kann, Steve Kinchen, Shari Shanklin, James Ross, Joseph Hawkins, William A. Harris, Richard Lowry, Tim McManus, David Chyen, Connie Lim, Nancy Brener, and Howell Wechsler. 2008. "Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance: United States, 2007." *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report: Surveillance Summary* 57 (4): 1–31.

Edin, Kathryn, Melody Boyd, James Mabli, Jim Ohls, Julie Worthington, Sara Greene, Nicholas Redel, Swetha Sridharan. 2013. "SNAP Food Security In-Depth Interview Study." Office of Research and Analysis, Food and Nutrition Service, US Department of Agriculture, Washington, DC.

Evans, William N., and Timothy Moore. 2009. "The Short-Term Mortality Consequences of Income Receipt." NBER Working Paper no. 15311, National Bureau of Economic Research, Cambridge, MA.

Fabelo, Tony, Michael D. Thompson, Martha Plotkin, Dottie Carmichael, Miner Marchbanks III, and Eric A. Booth. 2011. "Breaking Schools' Rules: A Statewide Study of How School Discipline Relates to Students' Success and Juvenile Justice Involvement." Report, Council of State Governments Justice Center, New York, and Public Policy Research Institute at Texas A&M University, College Station, TX.

Farson Gray, Kelsey, and Shivani Kochhar. 2015. "Characteristics of Supplemental Nutrition Program Households Fiscal Year 2014." Supplemental Nutrition Program Report no. SNAP-15-CHAR, US Department of Agriculture, Washington, DC.

Figlio, David N., Ashlyn Aiko Nelson, and Stephen L. Ross. 2011. "Do Children Lose More than a Home? The Effects of Foreclosure on Children's Education Outcomes." Paper presented at the Federal Reserve Community Affairs Research Conference, Arlington, VA. http://www.frbsf.org/community/conferences/2011ResearchConference/docs/3a-nelson-handout.pdf.

Foley, C. Fritz. 2011. "Welfare Payments and Crime." *Review of Economics and Statistics* 93 (1): 97–112.

Fox, Liana, Irwin Garfinkel, Neeraj Kaushal, Jane Waldfogel, and Christopher Wimer. 2014. "Waging War on Poverty: Historical Trends Using the Supplemental Poverty Measure." NBER Working Paper no. 19789, National Bureau of Economic Research, Cambridge, MA.

Friedman, Milton. 1957. *A Theory of the Consumption Function.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Gassman-Pines, Anna, and Laura E. Bellows. 2015. "SNAP Recency and Educational Outcomes." Draft paper presented at 2015 Population Association of America meetings, April 30–May 2, San Diego, CA.

Gassman-Pines, Anna, and Zoelene Hill. 2013. "How Social Safety Net Programs Affect Family Economic Well-Being, Family Functioning, and Children's Development. *Child Development Perspectives* 7 (3): 172–81.

Gennetian, Lisa A., and Eldar Shafir. 2015. "The Persistence of Poverty in the Context of Financial Instability: A Behavioral Perspective." *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* 34 (4): 904–36.

Gershoff, Elizabeth, Lawrence Aber, Cybele Raver, and Mary Clare Lennon. 2007. "Income Is Not Enough: Incorporating Material Hardship into Models of Income Associations with Parenting and Child Development." *Child Development* 78 (1): 70–95.

Greene, Jay P., and Greg Forster. 2003. "Public High School Graduation and College Readiness Rates in the United States." Center for Civic Innovation at the Manhattan Institute, New York.

Gundersen, Craig. 2015. "Food Assistance Programs and Child Health." *Future of Children* 25 (1).

Gundersen, Craig, and Brent Kreider. 2009. "Bounding the Effects of Food Insecurity on Children's Health Outcomes." *Journal of Health Economics* 28 (5): 971–83.

Gundersen, Craig, and James P. Ziliak, eds. 2014. "Childhood Food Insecurity in the U.S.: Trends, Causes, and Policy Options." *Future of Children* research report, the Brookings Institution, Washington, DC.

Hall, Robert E. 1978. "Stochastic Implications of the Life Cycle Permanent Income Hypothesis: Theory and Evidence." *Journal of Political Economy* 86 (6): 971–87.

Hannon, Lance, and James Defronzo. 1998. "The Truly Disadvantaged, Public Assistance, and Crime." *Social Problems* 45 (3): 383–92.

Hastings, Justine, and Ebonya Washington. 2010. "The First of the Month Effect: Consumer Behavior and Store Responses." *American Economic Journal-Economic Policy* 2 (2): 142–62.

Hill, Heather D., Pamela A. Morris, Nina Castells, and Jessica Thornton Walker. 2011. "Getting a Job Is Only Half the Battle: Maternal Job Loss and Child Classroom Behavior in Low-Income Families." *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* 30 (2): 310–33.

Huffman, David B., and Matias Barenstein. 2004. "Riches to Rags Every Month? The Fall in Consumption Expenditures between Paydays." IZA Discussion Paper no. 1430, IZA, Bonn.

Joint Center for Housing Studies. 2015. "The State of the Nation's Housing." Report, Joint Center for Housing Studies, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

Jyoti, Diana F., Edward A. Frongillo, and Sonya J. Jones. 2005. "Food Insecurity Affects School Children's Academic Performance, Weight Gain, and Social Skills." *Journal of Nutrition* 135 (12): 2831–39.

Kalil, Ariel, and Kathleen M. Ziol-Guest. 2008. "Parental Employment Circumstances and Children's Academic Progress." *Social Science Research* 37 (2): 500–515.

Kleinman, Ronald E., J. Michael Murphy, Michelle Little, Maria Pagano, Cheryl A. Wehler, Kenneth Regal, and Michael S. Jellinek. 1998. "Hunger in Children in the United States: Potential Behavioral and Emotional Correlates." *Pediatrics* 101 (1). http://pediatrics.aappub lications.org/content/101/1/e3.

Laibson, David. 1997. "Golden Eggs and Hyperbolic Discounting." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 112 (2): 443–77.

Lusardi, Annamaria, ed. 1999. *Spendthrift in America? On Two Decades of Decline in the U.S. Personal Saving*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Mastrobuoni, Giovanni, and Matthew Weinberg. 2009. "Heterogeneity in Intra-monthly Consumption Patterns, Self-Control, and Savings at Retirement." *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy* 1 (2): 163–89.

McCullagh, P., and J. A. Nelder. 1989. *Generalized Linear Models*. 2nd ed. New York: Chapman & Hall.

McLoyd, Vonnie. 1998. "Socioeconomic Development and Child Development." *American Psychologist* 53 (2): 185–204.

Meyers, Alan F., A. E. Sampson, Michael Weitzman, Beatrice L. Rogers, and H. Kayne. 1989. "School Breakfast Program and School Performance." *American Journal of Diseases of Children* 143 (10): 1234–39.

Mullainathan, Sendhil, and Eldar Shafir. 2013. *Scarcity: Why Having So Little Means So Much*. New York: Henry Holt.

Murphy, J. Michael, Cheryl A. Wehler, Maria Pagano, Michelle Little, Ronald E. Kleinman, and Michael S. Jellinek. 1998. "Relationship between Hunger and Psychosocial Functioning in Low-Income American Children." *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry* 37 (2): 163–70.

New Haven MOMS Partnership. 2015. "The MOMS Partnership 2015 Data Report on Mothers in New Haven." Yale University, New Haven, CT.

Oddo, Vanessa M., and James Mabli. 2015. "Association of Participation in the Supplemental Nutrition Program and Psychological Distress." *American Journal of Public Health* 105 (6): 30–35.

Oxfordshire Welfare Rights. 2010. "Written Evidence Submitted to the Work and Pensions Committee." Oxfordshire Welfare Rights, London. http://www.publications.parliament.uk /pa/cm201011/cmselect/cmworpen/writev/whitepap/uc03.htm.

Pollitt, E., S. Cueto, and E. R. Jacoby. 1998. "Fasting and Cognition in Well- and Undernourished Schoolchildren: A Review of Three Experimental Studies." *American Journal of Clinical Nutrition* 67 (4): 779s–784s.

Rawlings-Blake, Steven, Mick Cornett, Mitchell Landrieu, Helene Schneider, A. C. Wharton, and Tom Cochran. 2015. "Hunger and Homelessness Survey." Status report, US Conference of Mayors, Washington, DC.

Ready, Douglas D. 2010. "Socioeconomic Disadvantage, School Attendance, and Early Cognitive Development: The Differential Effects of School Exposure." *Sociology of Education* 83 (4): 271–86.

Sampson, Robert J., Patrick Sharkey, and Stephen W. Raudenbush. 2008. "Durable Effects of Concentrated Disadvantage on Verbal Ability among African-American Children." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 105 (3): 845–52.

Seefeldt, Kristin, and Tedi Castelli. 2009. "How Low-Income Women Think about Food Programs, Food Spending, and Food-Related Hardships: Evidence from Qualitative Data." Report submitted to the Economic Research Service, US Department of Agriculture, Washington, DC.

Shapiro, Jesse M. 2005. "Is There a Daily Discount Rate? Evidence from the Food Stamp Nutrition Cycle." *Journal of Public Economics* 89 (2–3): 303–25.

Sharkey, Patrick. 2012. "Residential Mobility and the Reproduction of Unequal Neighborhoods." *Cityscape: A Journal of Policy Development and Research* 14 (3): 9–32.

Simeon, Donald T., and Sally Grantham-McGregor. 1989. "Effects of Missing Breakfast on the Cognitive Functions of Schoolchildren of Differing Nutritional Status." *American Journal of Clinical Nutrition* 49 (4): 646–53.

Slack, Kristin S., and Joan Yoo. 2005. "Food Hardship and Child Behavior Problems among Low-Income Children." *Social Service Review* 79 (3): 511–36.

Smithgall, Cheryl, Robert Matthew Galdden, Duck-Hye Yang, and Robert Goerge. 2005. "Behavior Problems and Educational Disruptions among Children in Out-of-Home Care in Chicago." Report, Chapin Hall at the University of Chicago, Chicago.

Stephens, Melvin. 2003. "3rd of the Month": Do Social Security Recipients Smooth Consumption between Checks?" *American Economic Review* 93 (1): 406–22.

———. 2006. "Paycheque Receipt and the Timing of Consumption." *Economic Journal* 116 (513): 680–701.

Stephens, Melvin, and Takashi Unayama. 2010. "The Consumption Response to Seasonal Income: Evidence from Japanese Public Pension Benefits." NBER Working Paper no. 16342, National Bureau of Economic Research, Cambridge, MA.

Sundius, Jane, and Molly Farneth. 2008. "Missing School: Habitual Truancy and Chronic Absence." White paper, Open Society Institute, Baltimore, MD.

Swanson, Christopher B. 2004. "Who Graduates? Who Doesn't? A Statistical Portrait of Public High School Graduation, Class of 2001." Research report, Urban Institute, Education Policy Center, Washington, DC.

Tach, Laura, and Sara Sternberg-Greene. 2014. "Robbing Peter to Pay Paul: Economic and Cultural Explanations for How Lower-income Families Manage Debt." *Social Problems* 61 (1): 1–21.

Tarasuk, Valerie, Lynn McIntyre, and Jinguang Li. 2007. "Low-Income Women's Dietary Intakes Are Sensitive to the Depletion of Household Resources in One Month." *Journal of Nutrition* 137:1980–87.

US Census. 2015. "Families and Living Arrangements." US Census Bureau, Washington, DC. http://www.census.gov/newsroom/press-releases/2015/cb15-16.html.

US Department of Agriculture. 2016. "SNAP Monthly Benefit Issuance Cycles." US Department of Agriculture, Washington, DC. http://www.fns.usda.gov/snap/snap-monthly-benefit-issu ance-schedule.

Waves, Amber. 2012. "What's Behind the Rise in SNAP Participation?" Economic Research Service, US Department of Agriculture, Washington, DC. http://www.gao.gov/assets/130 /125135.pdf.

Whitaker, Robert C., Shannon M. Phillips, and Sean M. Orzol. 2006. "Food Insecurity and the Risks of Depression and Anxiety in Mothers and Behavior Problems in their Preschool-aged Children." *Pediatrics* 118 (3): e859–e868.

White House Council of Economic Advisors. 2015. "Long-Term Benefits of the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program." Office of the President, Washington, DC.

Whitemore Schazenbach, Diane, and Lauren Bauer. 2016. "Are Nutrition Policies Making Teenagers Hungry? The Hamilton Project." Report, Brookings Institution, Washington, DC.

Wilde, Parke E., and Christine K. Ranney. 2000. "The Monthly Food Stamp Cycle: Shopping Frequency and Food Intake Decisions in an Endogenous Switching Regression Framework." *American Journal of Agricultural Economics* 82 (1): 200–213.

Wodtke, Geoffrey T., Felix Elwert, and David J. Harding. 2012. "Poor Families, Poor Neighborhoods: How Family Poverty Intensifies the Impact of Concentrated Disadvantage on High School Graduation." University of Michigan, Population Studies Center, Ann Arbor, MI.

Wodtke, Geoffrey T., David J. Harding, and Felix Elwert. 2011. "Neighborhood Effects in Temporal Perspective: The Impact of Long-Term Exposure to Concentrated Disadvantage on High School Graduation." *American Sociological Review* 76 (5): 713–36.

"Negro Harry's School": A Monument to Equal Rights to Education

MICHAEL BYRD
University of South Carolina

ABSTRACT   Eighteenth-century letters and poor relief case records reveal the re-
markable story of Harry, the first African American teacher, and his school. Beginning
in 1743 in Charles Town and persevering for over 30 years, Harry taught as many as
1,000 slaves to read. Despite laws prohibiting teaching slaves such as the Slave Act
of 1740, opposition from wealthy merchants and planters, enmity of poor whites, shift-
ing and uncertain financial and political support, epidemics, natural disasters, assault,
and his own confinement for madness, Harry continued to teach, gaining the support
of wealthy elites and future founding fathers. Historical documents also detail how eco-
nomic and social welfare policies elevated the interests of some slaves above those of
poor whites and granted select city-dwelling slaves a measure of autonomy and even
privilege.

INTRODUCTION

Steeped in complexity and couched in trouble, this is the improbable story
of a slave teacher named Harry and a unique school in eighteenth-century
Charles Town (Charleston, South Carolina).[1] Harry began teaching in 1743,
more than 120 years before emancipation and at a time when teaching slaves
to read was met with antagonism.[2] His life was bookended by white-led

---

1. I refer to Harry by his first name throughout this article because that is the only name for
him that exists in records. It is likely that this is the only name that Harry had, as eighteenth-
century slaves almost never had last names. Right before emancipation (later in the nineteenth
century), some slaves were referred to by their owners' last names, and after emancipation
slaves chose a last name—often that of a former master. Only probate records document
anything of the 50,000 colonial era slaves, and these records do not contain much information
about the individual slaves. Eighteenth-century runaway slave advertisements list only a first
name.

2. The unpublished St. Philip's Protestant Episcopal Church, Charles Town vestry minutes
cited in this article are available from 1732 to 1755 and 1761 to 1775 on microfiche (folios m. 249,
m. 250) in the reference room of the South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina,

revolutions, and his teaching career was bracketed by slave insurrections. In 1774, on the eve of the American Revolution, the school in which he had taught for 32 years was memorialized as "Negro Harry's School" by future founders of the nation and the colony's wealthiest men.[3]

Harry taught perhaps as many as half of the slaves living in America's fourth-largest city to read. Negro Harry's School was distinctive from other schools for blacks in many ways: it was taught by a black schoolmaster, not by white teachers; it was supported by slaveholders, not by Quakers or abolitionists; it began early in the colonial period, not later or after the American Revolution; it lasted for 30 or more years and it taught perhaps thousands of students and not only a handful of students over a few years like other schools; it was in the deep South, where teaching slaves to read could be punishable by death, not in the North; it was highly visible and was mandated by the authorities, not an informal, covert meeting; and it educated slaves, not freedmen.[4] The school was also the only colonial slave teacher-

---

Columbia, South Carolina. At the same location, the St. Philip's vestry minutes are also available in typescript transcribed in the 1930s by the WPA. The St. Philip's Protestant Episcopal Church wardens' accounts are available from 1725 to 1750 on microfilm (folio m. 263) at the same location. All three comprised the primary sources for my 2005 dissertation, cited in the reference section of this article. Within the text of this article, the vestry minutes will be cited as "St. Philip's VM" with the date of the entry, e.g., (St. Philip's VM, March 28, 1757).

3. Initially (in 1743) the school was referred to in letters to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) in London as "the Negro school." The final entry about the school in the vestry minutes on August 1, 1774, refers to the school as "Negro Harry's School." This is significant because it shows that the white elite saw the school as Harry's and not as the rector's school or as the parish school. Since the vestry minutes were the official records of the governing body of the parish, this article will refer to the school as Negro Harry's School.

4. The SPG aggressively pursued the establishment of schools for slaves in New York, New Jersey, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina during the colonial period, but few were as large or as successful. Negro Harry's School was unique. None of the other colonial era schools featured a slave teacher, and none were teacher training schools (Dalcho 1820; Klingberg [1941] 1975; Woodson 1968; Leavell 1970; Joyner 1985; Morgan 1995; Comminey 1999). The references for the first part of this paper comprise 17 sources writing about the work of the SPG and the Charles Town slave school in St. Philip's Parish. The earliest are Frederick Dalcho's *Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South-Carolina* (1820) and Edward McCrady's *The History of South Carolina under the Royal Government, 1719–1776* (1899). The most comprehensive account by far is Frank Klingberg's *An Appraisal of the Negro in Colonial South Carolina* ([1941] 1975). Most of this section, unless otherwise stated, follows Klingberg's primary research on SPG letters from Alexander Garden, who founded the school, to Philip Bearcroft, the SPG secretary in London and to the bishop of London, who was Garden's superior. Klingberg also

training school. The curriculum was designed to diffuse religious education and reading ability from child scholars to their parents and siblings in slave quarters after the day's work was done, so the school's influence continued outside the classroom over generations of slaves.

All of this was accomplished in an environment that was hostile to the notion of slave literacy in a time and place where teaching slaves to read was dangerous and bordered upon being illegal. The school held its first class 5 years after the bloody Stono Rebellion, which increased slaveholders' desire to repress slaves, and 3 years after the passage of the reactive Slave Act of 1740 prohibited slave education. Teaching a single slave to read in colonial South Carolina was regarded with antagonism by most plantation slaveholders, who believed that to do so was inviting insubordination and rebellion and would ruin the slave for productive work.

The story of Negro Harry's School is important in part because it describes a successful experiment in slave literacy that proved that slave children were as able and willing to learn as whites, that adult parents of slave children would manifest extraordinary commitment to the education of their children, and that ardent slaveholders would support slave literacy both by paying for it and by allowing enslaved children to attend class instead of working. At the time it was popularly and even "scientifically" believed that slaves were both unwilling and unfit to be educated, but Harry's work disproved this myth.

Negro Harry's School may also have contributed to the highly trained expert craftsmanship and skilled artisanship that were widely dispersed within the slave population, creating a supportive environment for positive slave accomplishment in colonial Charles Town. As the proportion of literate adult slaves grew, opportunities for skilled slaves to obtain paid employment and apprenticeships increased. While correlation does not prove causation, it is noteworthy that, in Charles Town, increased slave agency and literacy followed the same upward gradient until 1774, when the school ended on the eve of the American Revolution, perhaps due to fears of insurrection.

---

includes abstracts of SPG reports and speeches to the SPG by Garden. Other accounts of the school are from C. E. Pierre (1916), Carter Woodson ([1919] 1968), C. W. Birnie (1927), John Lofton (1964), Ullin Leavell (1970), Charles Bolton (1982), Judith Joyner (1985), Walter Fraser (1989), Harry Morgan (1995), Robert Weir (1997), Robert Olwell (1998), Shawn Comminey (1999), Walter Edgar (1999), and Sharon Sundue (2007).

In a nation that devotes an entire month to the celebration of African American history, it is likely that not a single American school child knows the name and story of this very first black teacher in America. While slaves have collectively shaped American life in significant ways, in most cases whites have been credited for whatever influence slaves have had. Chronicles of slave experience in colonial times provide few examples of the achievements of individual slaves. This missing dimension profoundly distorts our view of slaves in colonial America.

SOURCE MATERIAL

While more than one dozen published accounts of Negro Harry's School exist, most give credit for the school's success to its white founder. There are many reasons for the general lack of recognition for Harry. Most firsthand written accounts of slavery come from well after the colonial period, and they are usually written after emancipation and by the hands of free black people and not people who were slaves at the time of writing. Also, since the beginning of slavery in America, which nearly coincides with the start of the little colony at Charles Town, Americans of African descent have had a historical experience dominated by tribulation and travail. Since most black people in the colonial period were unlettered, many people believe that meaningful achievement was impossible for them. For this reason, many historians and scholars have dismissed the colonial era as completely hostile to individual slave accomplishment, especially in the southern colonies.

I use published letters written to the bishop of London from his chief commissioners in the colony, the published proceedings of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) in London, and the unpublished but official minutes of the governing body of St. Philip's Parish vestry to document the work of this school and its slave teacher. The latter source is particularly important. Many historians report that Negro Harry's School ended when the SPG, which had originally provided its funding, moved to other provinces.[5] Fortunately for this article and for Harry's

---

5. Walter Fraser (1963) and Judith Joyner (1985) refer to the vestry minutes and therefore use the correct 1774 date for the school's closing. Dalcho's *Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South-Carolina* (1820, 193) reports that the school ended in 1764 when "Andrew died and Harry turned profligate." Dalcho's account seems to have been followed by most historians.

legacy, the St. Philip's Parish vestry minutes present a largely ignored primary source. The surviving unpublished St. Philip's vestry minutes (1732–76) and St. Philip's church wardens' account books (1725–52) document the names of 2,237 poor whites and 1 slave (Harry). I employed a historiographical method called prosopography. By recording each individual entry and sorting by name, I developed short vignettes or case histories of each recipient, based upon 1–20 entries per recipient. As it is applied to this article, a prosopography is an electronic database keyed to the names of the recipients mentioned in separate entries in the vestry minutes or the account books. I combined these with contextual material from the minutes and other historical accounts to create stories of the lives of over 40 poor whites, a free African American girl, and 1 slave schoolmaster (Harry). For Harry's story I added the SPG letters and reports. There are six vestry minute entries on the school, and only four of these are directly about Harry (excerpts of five of these appear in the appendix). Since the account books were lost prior to the transfer of expenses for Negro Harry's School from the SPG to St. Philip's Parish in the 1757, a most valuable source is missing.

This article suffers, as most colonial documents on slavery do, from the absence of the point of view of the slave himself. Because there are few firsthand accounts from slaves in colonial America, historians have been forced to write about the institution of slavery or about white slaveholders rather than about individual slaves. Slaves in colonial Charles Town left no written records documenting their intellectual and social history, not because they were incapable of doing so but because doing so could be punishable by death. This account focuses upon Harry and his school, as well as on the social and political environment.

THE HISTORY OF NEGRO HARRY'S SCHOOL
ST. PHILIP'S PARISH AND ALEXANDER GARDEN

Chief among the proponents of educating slaves was Alexander Garden, the bishop of London's Commissary in South Carolina and the rector of St. Philip's parish for several decades. In St. Philip's parish, the streets were said to be paved with gold—gold earned on the backs of slaves. The merchants and planters of colonial South Carolina were by far the wealthiest people in mid-eighteenth-century North America (Edgar 1999). From their seat in Charles Town, they managed a worldwide trade empire. Ever-

increasing numbers of slaves fueled not only their extravagant riches but also their deep-seated unease over the growing imbalance in numbers of whites and slaves. The diminishing white elite fraction, whose interests seemed best served by harsh and inhumane treatment of slaves, took measures to exert greater control and suppression throughout the period.

The English founders of the colony were faced with a thorny decision about religious instruction for slaves. English law stated that Christians could not be held in bondage. To comply, the colonists either had to continue to deprive their slaves of knowledge of the Bible and its teachings or they had to eliminate slavery. Doing the former meant risking excommunication and eternal damnation, but slaveholders never for a moment considered doing the latter and eliminating slavery. To resolve this dilemma, the colonists wrangled a formal order from the bishop of London that decreed that "conversion did not warrant emancipation" (Olwell 1998, 121–24; Comminey 1999, 360, 61). The bishop's order left a crack in the door barring slave education, and Garden eagerly took advantage.

Garden's long odds were made even longer by the Stono Rebellion of 1738. A group of slaves staged an impromptu uprising by attacking a storehouse on the Stono River, about 30 miles south of Charles Town. After killing the clerks and sacking the store, they cut off the heads of the two white clerks and placed them on the stairs. Ransacking plantations and killing whites as they went, they were joined by over 100 other slaves as they headed south. They were eventually overtaken by the militia, and all were killed or fled into the swamps. In a grisly but symmetrical end to the rebellion's start, the slaves' severed heads were placed on each milepost of the road back to Charles Town (Fraser 1989; Weir 1997; Olwell 1998; Edgar 1999; Harris 2009).

The slaveholders reacted with anger. After Stono, any effort to improve the condition of slaves was fiercely opposed by the planter-dominated assembly, which in 1740 passed the Slave Act. Among many other harsh prohibitions in the act, teaching slaves to write was made illegal and teaching reading was discouraged, although not banned altogether.

Undaunted by his bad timing, Garden went ahead with his idea. Originally Garden planned to ask the provincial assembly for a law requiring large plantation owners to send a capable male slave child to a teacher training academy that he intended to establish. When the assembly balked, Garden simply scaled back his design and focused on St. Philip's Parish, where he was rector and wielded considerable influence. Still, Garden's path to a

school was not easy because slaveholding parishioners not only paid Garden's salary but also had to underwrite any plan he had for slave conversion.

By starting his school in Charles Town, where the white and slave populations were more or less evenly divided, and not on the plantations, where whites were outnumbered and owners were unsympathetic to the cause of slave literacy, Garden hoped to improve the chances for success. He also improved his program's chances of working by selecting from among native-born slave children who had the ability to speak English. By educating from the bottom up and teaching children first, he hoped to avoid provoking his parishioners' fears of empowering the slave majority as well as the loss of adult slave productivity. Graduates would teach their parents and siblings to read. Garden sold his plan under an overt motive of providing religious education. Garden's letters to the SPG in London reveal his underlying aim to demonstrate the intelligence and ability of the slaves and their equal rights to education. Garden was certain that slaves would progress and thereby "elevate the Negro race" (Comminey 1999, 363). From Bible literacy would come Christian faith. Garden knew he could not confront the institution of slavery directly, but he aimed to create a "nation within a nation" where literate slaves would teach other slaves without threatening the aristocratic white society (Klingberg [1941] 1975, 106).

In 1740, the SPG donated £1,500 to Garden to conduct his trial project, and in 1742, two American-born slaves, Harry and Andrew, were purchased (Dalcho 1820; McCrady 1899; Klingberg [1941] 1975).[6] Subsequently, Garden placed a long advertisement in the *South Carolina Gazette* soliciting funds to build a schoolhouse on St. Philip's property. Many of Charles Town's wealthiest elite underwrote his appeal for funds, notably Assembly Speaker Charles Pinckney, Joseph Wragg, Robert Pringle, Provincial Treasurer Jacob Motte, and Benjamin Smith (Dalcho 1820, 156).[7]

---

6. The bill of sale indicated that the SPG purchased and owned the two slaves, but this is only a technicality (Klingberg [1941] 1975, 111). The purchase was on behalf of the parish, and the slaves were managed by Garden and the parish vestry. They came to the parish from the estate of Andrew Skene, an owner of large plantations in Barbados and St. Andrew's Parish. Skene chafed under the rule of the King's Lords Proprietors, and he led Carolina's first "bloodless" revolution (Klingberg [1941] 1975, 42). Ironically, this would not be Harry's last direct involvement with white revolutionaries.

7. All these supporters were wealthy vestrymen and owned hundreds of slaves. Smith was a noted merchant and slave trader. Motte was the provincial treasurer. Pringle was a fabulously rich merchant. Pinckney was the speaker of the House of Commons and the father of Charles

Little is known about Harry, but what is known may be more than exists about any other colonial-era slave who never experienced freedom. Harry was born in the colony on a rice plantation on the Goose Creek side of the Ashley River, where he likely worked as a field hand from about age 10 until age 14 when he was sold. The cultivation of rice in the province was almost entirely a slave enterprise, based upon methods brought from West Africa. Slave drivers assigned tasks and issued instructions in Harry's birth language, Gullah. Gullah, a complex creole language distinct from English, was the language of the uneducated planation slaves.

It is likely that at the time of their delivery to Garden from the plantation, neither Andrew nor Harry could comprehend much of what was commonly known as "the king's English." Indeed, they had only encountered it during catechism lessons taught by their former owner's sister-in-law. Harry and Andrew must have displayed some aptitude in memorizing the catechism's formal English, which was a crucial qualification for their selection to become teachers. When purchased, Harry, age 14, and Andrew, age 15, could recite the catechism, but neither knew "a Letter of the Alphabet" (Klingberg 1975, 110).

Garden's proposal required "progress to come from the Negro himself" and not from white teachers (Klingberg [1941] 1975, 107). Therefore, he would first have to create capable readers whom he then planned to teach how to teach. He envisioned a school that would provide instruction that would not be inferior to instruction given to white children. Garden was supremely confident in the capability of slave children not only to learn to read but also to teach as well as more highly educated white teachers.

Thus, Garden set about teaching Harry and Andrew to read. It is probable that from that first instant when they were with Garden, they had to dispense with their Gullah speech. Since Garden's grand design was to deliver graduates who were the equal of white students, before his students could learn to read, they first had to learn English. Most importantly, they had to reject Gullah words and expressions, for the graduates would be judged based upon their ability to read and speak proper English. Allowing students to speak the common dialect of plantation slaves was counter to Garden's plan.

It seems as though Harry made quick progress. In a September 1742 letter to the SPG, Garden described Harry as "an excellent genius"

Cotesworth Pinckney and Thomas Pinckney, who later were US presidential candidates (Fraser 1989; Edgar 1999).

who "after 8 months could read the New Testament exceedingly well." Garden furthermore projected that in only 6 months Harry would be fully qualified to teach on his own. Andrew learned much more slowly and was never as gifted academically as Harry. In a noteworthy aside in his letter to the SPG, Garden observed that Andrew had a better "temper" than Harry. Docile, easily subjugated slaves were commonly described as good-tempered (Klingberg [1941] 1975, 107–12).

THE FIRST YEARS OF NEGRO HARRY'S SCHOOL

Doors were opened to the new school on September 12, 1743. Later that year, Garden wrote the SPG that the school was a success, with 30 students currently reading the *Book of Common Prayer*. By 1746, there were 55 children in the school, and 18 adults were instructed in the evening. The parish, after seeing that the school did indeed properly educate the young slaves, approved the school account and agreed to share financial responsibility for the school with the SPG. Working through Garden, the parish vestry assumed full management (Dalcho 1820; Klingberg [1941] 1975). By 1746, the school had graduated 28 children who could read the New Testament and recite the catechism. There were 55 students during the day and 15 adults in the evenings. The following is an abstract of a speech by Garden to the SPG in London. By the phrase "sent out 28 Children sufficiently instructed according to the Intention of that School" Garden is certifying that his master plan of training teachers to diffuse literacy among other slaves was working (Klingberg [1941] 1975, 116):

> The Society's Negroe School at Charles Town which had then subsisted but two Years and eight Months, had sent out 28 Children sufficiently instructed according to the Intention of that School; and that it was increased to the Number 70, viz 55 Children taught of Days, and 15 grown Slaves taught of Evenings, when their Days Work is over; That he plainly perceives a very general and earnest Desire among Negroe Parents of having their Children instructed, and also an Emulation among many of them that are capable of Instruction; as he is now convinced by Experience, that the same Method will answer in other Places, he humbly recommends it to Practice.

Thus, within 2 years, Garden and Harry had disproven the slaveholders' argument that slaves were unwilling and unfit for academic pursuits.

Garden himself was amazed at the eagerness of the slaves to learn to read. Not satisfied with his success, Garden pressed the SPG for more books and more support. He pointed out that the slave parents so fervently sought education for their offspring that the school could not meet the demand. Although he refused to charge the parents for books, he allowed that if they were required to pay they would probably comply, "Though they should pinch it off their Backs and out of their Bellies" (Klingberg [1941] 1975, 113–14). In lieu of his original plan to train teachers, he took advantage of the slaves' desire for education. The graduates of the slave school in Charles Town would themselves "diffuse" literacy within their families so that "Amounting in the space of 20 years to nigh half the Negroes in this Parish (would be educated by the school); and who all along will be diffusing the Same Light and Knowledge to the others, Their Parents, Relations, Country-men & Fellow-Servants" (Klingberg [1941] 1975, 113).

Garden retired in 1755 and was replaced by Reverend Richard Clarke, who was equally enthusiastic about the school's and Harry's work, though he complained that the flourishing effort that educated about 70 slaves a year was too small to touch the colony's "fifty thousand Negro Slaves" (Klingberg [1941] 1975, 119). Without legislative help, Garden's original plan of Christian education for all the province's slaves could never be realized. It is worth noting that Clarke's dismal assessment that the school would never reach all the province's slaves and therefore would be a failure appears later in many subsequent accounts (e.g., Dalcho 1820; McCrady 1899; Bolton 1982; Comminey 1999; Sundue 2007). However, in Garden's reports to the SPG, it is clear that the plan to disseminate literacy within slave families was working. Also worthy of note, it was 1760 before a vestry-funded school for poor white children was established in Charles Town. Therefore, for 17 years in Charles Town, selected slave children received a better education than most poor white children, and it is probable that on the eve of the American Revolution, literacy rates among slaves were higher than they were among poor whites (Bolton 1982, 119).

Despite the pronouncements allowing slavery by the bishop of London, Clarke believed that slaveholders violated the core tenets of Christianity, and he struggled to reconcile his role as a spiritual leader of the church with slavery. He "preached sermons that he had received a message from above that God's judgment would come down upon slaveholders and that a great calamity would befall them" (Olwell 1998, 136). Behaving as an Old Testament prophet, "Clarke let his hair grow and ran about the streets crying

out that slave owners should repent as the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand" (Olwell 1998, 136). To the relief of his aristocratic parishioners, Clarke resigned shortly thereafter and left for England (Klingberg [1941] 1975).[8]

REVEREND ROBERT SMITH

Under Reverend Robert Smith's supervision, things began to change for Harry. Smith arrived from London in 1756 to become associate rector to Clarke and headmaster for the Charles Town free school for white parishioners' children. After his appointment as rector of St. Philip's, he plunged into the work of supervising Negro Harry's School, administering twice-weekly examinations to all students (Dalcho 1820).

When Smith's father-in-law died, he inherited a large Cooper River plantation, complete with hundreds of slaves (Anderson and Eastman 2014). His neighboring plantation owner, Gabriel Manigault, the veteran St. Philip's vestryman of over 30 years, was rumored to be the wealthiest British citizen in the Americas (Fraser 1989, 111). Smith was quickly accepted into the inner circle of Charles Town society, at a level on the social ladder far above that occupied by his predecessors.

Smith inserted himself into church politics and, claiming that the SPG had sent dissenter missionaries to the colony, he severed all ties, effectively ending the SPG support for Negro Harry's School (Anderson and Eastman 2014). The St. Philip's vestry assumed responsibility, thrusting the school clearly into the control of the city's aristocratic slaveholders. Given the rising concerns among the city's elite and the vestry about growing poor relief expenses, as expenditures for public assistance grew by 1,800 percent from 1725 to 1975, it would seem that the demise of the SPG in the colony would end Harry's tenure. However, the parish's responsibility for funding the school was enthusiastically endorsed by Manigault, who donated his own considerable resources to this cause. However unlikely it may seem, the school that was once spurned by slaveholding planters in the assembly was now funded by its most eminent member. One might wonder about the

8. Clarke's seemingly mad behavior and his speedy departure foreshadow by almost 10 years the 1768 labeling of Harry as a madman. Madness in colonial Charles Town was a common malady. Among slaves it was so common that the Negro Act of 1751 made provision for local parishes to relieve poorer masters of the cost of confining "slaves that may become lunatic" (Cooper and McCord 1836–41, *Statutes* VII, 424).

motivation of the elites to sponsor slave literacy when it ran so counter to their interests. The best answer is that wealthy slave owners were not motivated to educate slaves out of religiousness or benevolence, but that the economic benefits of educated slaves fueled the education, training, and employment of slaves in colonial Charles Town. Smith, who was now as wealthy as most of the vestrymen to whom he reported, assumed increasing authority within St. Philip's parish, Charles Town, and the province.

TRANSFER OF RESPONSIBILITY TO THE ST. PHILIP'S PARISH VESTRY

By 1757, the St. Philip's Parish vestry assumed sole responsibility for the school. The vestry was the governing body of St. Philip's parish, a group of men elected by the male property owners whose duty it was to collect parish tithes, rent pews, appoint clergymen, investigate cases of immorality and disorder, administer the poor laws, and in general supervise the charitable, moral, and religious aspects of parish life. The executive arm of the vestry comprised the two church wardens, whose office kept them occupied with the business of the vestry and the presentation of cases requiring their attention. At this point, the primary source of information on Harry is the St. Phillip's vestry minute books. While the SPG letters detailing the school's success ended over time, the efforts of the school continued under the watchful eyes and financial support of the vestry and Smith. From the letters of Garden, Clarke, and Smith, it seems that the school met daily, except Sunday, and that slave girls as well as boys were students. Once or twice a week all of the students were examined by the ministers to ensure they were progressing in their ability to recite the catechism and read the New Testament. By this point, Harry was the sole teacher, Andrew having proven unsuited for teaching (Klingberg [1941] 1975; Joyner 1985).

The parish's investment in slave education began at a time of crisis in the growing city.[9] The vestry, concerned about the growing numbers of idle

9. Walter Fraser (1983, 170–73) writes that during the 1760s, there was a dramatic increase in "idle, loose, and disorderly" unemployed white poor people roaming the streets, and he cites numerous reports in the *South Carolina Gazette* and grand jury presentments. Byrd's (2005, 71) examination of the St. Philip's vestry account book poor relief expenditures found that public assistance for white poor grew by 15-fold between 1743 and 1775. While the vestrymen were alarmed at the increase in poor relief expenditures and the growing number of unemployed males, the city's elite failed to rein in the slave ticket system, which was a major cause of

poor males and the increasing poor relief expenses, petitioned the assembly on January 6, 1734, for funds to construct a workhouse and hospital. Since many of the assemblymen were also St. Philip's parish residents, an act to control white male "Rogues, Vagabonds, Common-Beggars and other lewd, idle and Disorderly Persons" was quickly passed (Fraser 1983, 163–79, 1989, 56–57; 149). It is no surprise that the parish poor relief administration emphasized the dependency of able-bodied women as well as the sick, the disabled, the old, and the young. Males, unless they were aged, blind, or disabled, were expected to work and, by extension, support their families. Able-bodied but unemployed white males were the bane of the existence of the elite vestrymen. A pillory and "whiping (sic) post" were constructed on the workhouse grounds to punish runaway slaves and idle white males. Originally intended as a deterrent to idleness, the workhouse and a nearby building that housed those who were disordered in their senses grew more sinister. Genteel slaveholders, rather than administer slave punishments themselves, sent their slaves to the warden of the workhouse for correction. Over time, the business of punishing and returning runaways paid for itself, with fees going directly to the warden from slave owners. Wardens invented increasingly cruel and inhumane punishments to promote the correction service and enhance revenue. Surprisingly, amid all the efforts to reduce poor relief expenses, the slave school continued with no efforts to curtail its activities.

The church wardens disbursed hundreds of pounds per annum from their own ample funds to recipients who were deemed deserving. After presenting their account books before the election of vestrymen and church wardens each year at Easter, they were reimbursed for their expenses from the past year. By 1775, the parish spent over £14,000 to relieve over 300 individuals. Most of the expenses were for the workhouse, the school, and apartments to house the poor, but church wardens might themselves provide £2,000 per year in outdoor relief to about 100 poor people in monthly disbursements that were personally delivered by the warden or perhaps by his clerk (all are estimates due to the loss of the account books after 1752). Over the years, the post of church warden became too time consuming for members of the elite, and the role was increasingly performed by younger

---

unemployment and growing relief expenses. In fact, it could be argued that by teaching slaves to read, by training slave apprentices and not white children, and by allowing slaves to work for pay, the city's gentry exacerbated the problem of poor white male unemployment.

tradesmen and artisans. It is highly likely that the accounting and book-keeping functions were delegated to clerks and not the church warden. Separate overseers of the poor were elected to manage the workhouse and the schools. All considered, the enterprise of poor relief in Charles Town was big business. Women and children without kin constituted a majority of the parish welfare cases. In the early years, when there were many more males than females, poor relief was evenly divided by gender. However, from 1738 until 1775, over 60 percent of all adults helped by the vestry were female. Able-bodied males were never provided with poor relief.

From 1732 until 1776, the vestry minutes contained thousands of petitions for relief of poor whites. Until 1747, no parish funds were expended on individual slaves, and then only once, indirectly for quarantine purposes. On June 1, 1747, the vestry minutes state "That the churchwardens pay Mr. Motte his expense of twenty shillings for Sending down a Negroe Wench who has Leprosye to the Pest House and also pay the charges of keeping her there which is 15 shillings per week and provide a gown for her, 180)."

Harry's petition to the vestry on March 27, 1757, was the very first and only application from a slave: "The Petn. Of Harry, the Negroe schoolmaster, praying some allowance for his labor in teaching Negroe Children. Agreed that the Church Wardens Cloath him in a decent manner as one of the Parish (St. Philip's VM, March 27, 1757)."[10] Able-bodied males were never given poor relief, so this was equivalent to a salary and not a welfare payment. Also, by "cloathing him in a decent manner," the vestry provided Harry with dress that was at least one station above the crude dress allowed for slaves, in clear violation of the 1740 slave code.[11] From the 1757 entry, as well as Garden's letters, it can be surmised that Harry was unlike other slaves in Charles Town. After he was purchased by Garden with SPG funds, he was brought to Charles Town to work as a teacher, not to do typical slave work. The parish was his master, and he was taught and supervised by Garden,

10. Vestrymen approving this measure included Henry Laurens, who was later the president of the First Continental Congress; Christopher Gadsden, a Revolutionary War general, a leading opponent of the Stamp Act, and the creator of the "Don't Tread on Me" flag; provincial speaker of the Commons House of Assembly Charles Pinckney; and the fabulously wealthy slave trader and Native American trader Benjamin Smith. All were among the richest men in the British colonies (Fraser 1989, 111)..

11. It should be noted that this clothing restriction in the slave code was probably unenforceable and often violated. House servants in elite homes routinely wore fine clothing.

Clarke, and Smith. He likely lived on "glebe lands" (the church's property), perhaps in the attic of the parsonage or above the stables or a separated kitchen, where other parish-owned slaves lived. The account books refer to other parish slaves who performed the work customarily done by slaves: cooking, cleaning, laundry, caring for parish animals, and the many other duties required to support the ministers and the work of St. Philip's parish. The fact that Harry had an allowance from the parish and that he dared petition the vestry for the allowance further distinguishes him from other slaves. So firmly established was the school that in 1752 when a hurricane flattened the building and much of Charles Town, the school was quickly replaced (Klingberg [1941] 1975). Subsequently, the vestry expended "£60 or thereabouts" toward maintaining the "House where the Negroe school is kept" in repair (St. Philip's VM, December 17, 1759). It appears that the concept of education for blacks was well accepted in Charles Town. No longer dependent on the largesse of the SPG in London, the school and Harry were fully maintained by city poor taxes and the powerful elite serving on the St. Philip's vestry.

The church wardens used their discretion to carry out the orders of the vestry. The account books record expenditures, and the minutes record changes to the status quo or new authorizations for relief. The fact that there are no entries in the minutes referring to Harry from 1757 to 1768 makes it safe to assume that for these 11 years the school and Harry continued to prosper, although there were no routine reports to London. For several years, Smith continued to apprise the SPG of progress. In 1760, he wrote the SPG that an epidemic of smallpox and the Cherokee War had slowed down attendance, but that by the following year, the school returned to its normal 60 or so students, with Harry providing all instruction (Klingberg [1941] 1975).

THE LATER YEARS AND THE END OF THE SCHOOL

In the late summer of 1765, "Sons of Liberty" followers of Christopher Gadsden (the former St. Philip's vestryman and a leading member of the Stamp Act Congress) had taken to the streets in anger over the English taxation policies. At the corner of Broad and Church streets, they erected a gallows and hung a stamp collector in effigy. A crowd of about 2,000 sailors, working-class whites, and vagrants marched down Broad Street crying out

"Liberty" and "No Stamp Act."[12] Almost concurrently, a rumor that the king would issue a decree freeing the slaves spread like wildfire among the slaves in Charles Town. Several weeks later, following the rumors, slaves gathered to march around and mimic the white Sons of Liberty cry of "Liberty." Across the Charles Town peninsula, masters feared that the English were provoking a slave uprising, while slaves rejoiced at the prospect of an eminent royal edict freeing them (Duncan 1972; Weir 1997; Harris 2009). By 1765, the dire prophesies of the plantation-owning slaveholders had come to pass. The trio of indulgences warned against in 1742 by ardent slaveholders—education of slaves, skilled apprenticeships, and paid employment—had unleashed a power among Charles Town slaves that could not be reversed. Literacy, skilled training, and employment (not religion) had created a strident demand for freedom among slaves. These developments would not bode well for the Charles Town slave school or for Harry.

Beginning in 1768, the vestry minutes reveal dramatic conflicts in Harry's life. Suddenly Harry showed a remarkable propensity for getting into trouble. Or, perhaps more likely, trouble sought him out. "For repeated transgressions," Harry was placed "into the Mad House (a separate part of the workhouse) and to be kept there 'till orders from the vestry for taking him out" (St. Philip's VM, March 7, 1768). While no order appears in the minutes (such matters were left to the discretion of the warden), he was likely released quickly, not only because he was the only teacher but also because by September 19 he was in difficulty again. This time, the vestry ordered church wardens George Ancrum and Daniel Cannon to "gett a Peace Warrant against Peter Johnson for his ill treatment of Negroe Harry" (St. Philip's VM, September 19, 1768). I speculate that Peter Johnson may have been among the many poor white males who resented employed and semi-independent slaves, of which Harry was a visible example.

Whatever treatment and punishment was administered to Harry evidently had little effect, for in 1774, Harry's allowance was stopped for "misbehavior" (St. Philip's VM, June 16, 1774). The terms "repeated transgressions"

---

12. Gadsden harangued the crowd, likening the king's treatment of the white colonists imposing the Stamp Act on white Carolinians to the pharaoh's enslavement of the Israelites (Harris 2009). Nine years later, Reverend Smith would use the same analogy when speaking to the assembly against the king's treatment of the colonists. That elite Charlestonians believed themselves to be enslaved by the English offers an insightful window into the minds and hearts of slave owners.

and "misbehavior" could apply to a wide range of behaviors, from teaching students to write, lecturing students on key passages in the Bible condemning slavery, or visiting the many tippling and bawdy houses along the Cooper River wharves. The last entry in the vestry minutes pertaining to Harry on August 1, 1774, reads, "Agreed that /application be made to the Lieu^t. Governor for a Room in the New Barracks [where the some workhouse functions had been relocated] &/Negro Harry's School be removed therein when such leave is obtaine'd."[13] There were no further entries about either Harry or the school.[14] While the vestry itself did not move to end the school, it is curious that, after 32 years of supporting slave education, the parish elite would ask for help from the assembly headed by the lieutenant governor. The wealthy planters in the assembly would never authorize funds for slave education, especially not under the immediate threat of insurrection. This entry documents the existence of both the school and its black schoolmaster in the summer of 1774.

Discontent with British rule and taxation escalated, and Reverend Smith was in the thick of it. He preached a sermon before the assembled members of the Commons House at St. Philip's in favor of colonials (Anderson and Eastman 2014). Across the city there were heightened tensions and fear of an impending slave insurrection. Parishioners attending services at St. Philip's were asked to bring their weapons with them into the church since some slaves were released from work on Sundays and gathered together on the town green and outside the city. Amid the rumors that inflamed slaves and masters, elite city leaders ratcheted up control to diminish slave autonomy (Fraser 1989). City leaders used slave insolences and alleged slave crimes to deliver messages designed to deter slave revolt. In 1769, two slaves, Dolly and Liverpoole, a "Negro doctor," were burned to death at the stake on the

13. The use of the term "Negro Harry's School" is testimony to Harry's importance in both American educational history and African American history. Moreover, the vestrymen in the room on August 1, 1774, as mentioned previously, were among Charles Town's richest and most influential citizens. Nearly all the business discussed at these meetings involved decisions by the wealthiest to support (or not support) the poorest persons in the colonies. The close insinuation of the slave Harry, his school, and the Charles Town elite may be unique in all American history.

14. There are disagreements as to the date of the school's closing. Dalcho reports that the school closed around 1764 as a result of Andrew's death and Harry's "turning profligate" (1820, 193). Comminey and Klingberg report that the school closed around 1768. Only Joyner, who uses the vestry minutes, accurately reports the closing around 1774. There is no record of the actual closing.

Charles Town green before a large assemblage (Harris 2009, 141). Dolly was accused of poisoning her master and his child and Liverpoole of providing the deadly concoction (Duncan 1972; Harris 2009). Increasingly medieval punishments for sometimes arbitrary crimes were staged for slaves to witness. The advent of the American Revolution brought new insurrection fears and new executions all across the province (Duncan 1972; Weir 1997; Harris 2009). One wonders how Harry's school could survive amid growing concerns about slave agency and autonomy and, ultimately, insurgency.

Concurrent with the increased unrest, the tone of the vestry minutes mentioning Harry changed dramatically. Smith's supervisory role over Harry and the slave school may have taken on a new pro-colonial, pro-slaveholder perspective. At a time when British agents were tarred and feathered and ridden out of town, Smith seemed in no frame of mind to take orders from the bishop of London regarding the religious education of slaves. More pressing concerns occupied Smith and his aristocratic brethren. At a minimum, freeing the slaves would bring an end to white prosperity; at the worst, slave liberty threatened to usher in a bloody slaughter of whites living in the Carolina low country.

When the news of the battles at Lexington and Concord reached the colony, the mood intensified to a fever pitch. In the late summer of 1775, Thomas Jeremiah, a free African American harbor pilot with property, boats, and slaves, was accused of planning a slave revolt to organize slave soldiers and procure guns to kill all the whites. With scant evidence, due to the key witnesses having recanted their testimony, Jeremiah was hanged on the workhouse green, and his body was burned to ashes. William Harris (2009, 141–46) reports that the South Carolina loyalists were certain that the "entire episode had been manufactured" by the colony's leaders (principally Gadsden and Laurens) to create the appearance of a slave uprising. Such a sham uprising would necessitate raising the militia and forming regiments of infantry to combat the slaves, demonstrating to the crown the resolve of the South Carolina colonists to support the revolutionary efforts in Lexington and Concord (Harris 2009).

To Smith's great credit, he interviewed Jeremiah in the workhouse and was convinced of his innocence. Smith wrote Laurens, and he visited the English governor Lord William Campbell to urge the leaders of the colony to stop the execution (Harris 2009). Smith's defense of Jeremiah calls into question his role in the demise of Harry and his school, and it further clouds the mystery of what happened to Harry and whether or not he turned

452 | Social Service Review

profligate or was a victim of his own success in empowering slaves. While things clearly changed for the worse for Harry under Smith's administration, the fact that, as an ardent revolutionary, Smith refused to condone the execution of a presumed innocent man further adds to the intrigue. Why would Smith stand behind one black man accused of treason while persecuting the only trained slave teacher in the parish? Whatever happened to Harry, his end was likely more about the rampant fear gripping Charles Town than about any behavior on his part.

The story of Thomas Jeremiah illustrates the conflict that existed in the minds and hearts of the Charles Town slave owners. On the one hand, to maintain their hold upon their slaves, they had to enforce a life of ignorance and fear, withholding any knowledge of reading and writing. To educate a slave, or to give him or her a measure of independence from his or her owner, was a dangerous influence against the control of the master. On the other hand, in Charles Town and on the plantations, almost everything that happened in labor, craft, or industry was done by the hands of slaves, even many of the most skilled tasks (e.g., piloting British warships through the Charles Town harbor). In order for slaves to exercise their arts and skills, independence and often education were required. In Charles Town, the master who exercised absolute authority over a slave created a worthless slave and consumed all his time in watchfulness and supervision. Thomas Jeremiah was a shining example of this paradox. He had worked at his trade for over 20 years, and by virtue of his ability he had gained his freedom. He had become perhaps the wealthiest African American in all the Carolinas, owning a fleet of boats and even slaves. The work of a harbor pilot required a full measure of independence. The fears of the plantation owners, who in 1740 denied Garden's request to start a slave training school, had now been fully realized 35 years later when a growing contingent of empowered slaves was insinuated into every aspect of city life. The late St. Philip's rector Garden could not have anticipated these developments; however, every one of his designs proved wildly successful, even against long odds.

As to what happened to Harry, no one knows. However, given the events in Charles Town between 1765 and 1775, Harry's madness, misbehavior, and profligacy seem weak explanations for closing the school. By 1775, the enthusiasm for Harry and his school evaporated in the heat of the threatened slave insurrection. It is ironic that American history celebrates Henry Laurens, Christopher Gadsden, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, and Charles Pinckney for their work in securing liberty and justice for all when, on the

eve of the American Revolution, their primary goal seemed to be the preservation of slavery. These same white revolutionaries who led the founding of this country consigned Harry to the margins of history, shut the doors on slave education in Charles Town, and hanged freedom-seeking African Americans as criminals. Founders living within the 2 square miles of Charles Town's center cared less about independence from England and more about quelling slave insurrections in their own city. Most of all, they feared that the English would free the slaves, unleashing a massacre of whites.

THE INFLUENCE OF NEGRO HARRY'S SCHOOL
LITERACY LEADS TO REBELLION

After the school closed, the full force of Harry's work was not felt for 50 years. In the aftermath of Vesey's 1822 slave insurrection in Charleston, slave literacy was clamped down upon and forced underground (Ford 2009). In his review of the causes of the slave revolt, James Hamilton, the official leading the suppression of the Vesey revolt and the subsequent trials and executions, likened the danger of teaching slaves to read the Bible as creating a "hot-bed, in which the germ (of insurrection) might be expected to spring into life and vigor" (Ford 2009, 232). Far from holding that slaves were unfit for or disinterested in learning to read, Thomas Pinckney, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney's brother and a 1796 Federalist Party presidential candidate, recognized that "instruction" was a dangerous instrument that, once acquired, could not be removed from Charles Town slaves because it is "easily communicated" (Ford 2009, 241). Garden's plan for diffusion of literacy among slave families contributed to this danger that Thomas Pinckney identified. A pamphlet written by William Henry de Saussure, equity chancellor, flatly proposed a moratorium on slave artisans, craftsmen, and mechanics and an end to teaching slaves to read since "knowledge is power" (Ford 2009, 243). Almost overnight the dangerous trio of entwined practices (teaching slaves to read, apprenticeships, and paid employment for slaves) was curtailed, and opportunity shifted to favor poor whites (Ford 2009). If nothing else, this 1822 reaction demonstrated that slaveholders' passion for wealth had overruled their short memories of what happened with Thomas Jeremiah in 1775, and it demonstrates the influence of Harry's teaching. John Lofton (1964, 50), writing specifically about the contribution of Harry's school to both Vesey's slave insurrection and the founding of black churches, flatly states that slave owners were willing to overlook the elevated danger

454 | **Social Service Review**

of insurrection since education "undoubtedly increased the slave's usefulness to the master."

In Charles Town, slave literacy and agency would continue to increase regardless of the ending of the slave school and, as no less an expert than Frederick Douglass asserted, if a crevice were opened in slavery through which a single drop of enlightenment or moral treatment could fall, "it will certainly rust off the slave's chain" (Douglass [1855] 2014, 208–9). While Thomas Pinckney found that the "indulgences" allowed Charles Town slaves by the "ticket system" and the "facility of obtaining money" from employment contributed mightily to Vesey's attempted rebellion, "the most dangerous of these indulgences was their being taught to read" (Ford 2009, 241).[15]

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SKILLED SLAVE WORKERS

The existence of Negro Harry's School in Charles Town meant that, for a time, slave children were actually receiving a better education than poor white children. Poor laws required that poor children be apprenticed rather than cared for in foster homes. As a rule, children were placed as apprentices at about age 8, although around 1740 a spate of indentures bound out children ranging from 1 to 6 years of age. Initially, St. Philip's parish took care to assure that poor white children were being properly trained and educated. Every year apprentices were examined by the vestry on the first Monday of August to determine whether the covenants in their indentures were being complied with (St. Philip's VM, May 20, 1757). However, after the parish-managed orphanage and school was established in 1760, few children were apprenticed. In the early years, most parish poor children (those who were orphans and children of poor widows receiving an allowance from the parish) were apprenticed. Masters of white apprentices would send these children to school only if it was required in the articles of a child's indenture. Most masters were not interested in educating poor apprentices indentured by the parish, since they would be released in 6 or 7 years and no benefit would accrue to the master.

Fifty-seven poor white children were apprenticed in the 21 years from 1738 to 1759. Only 17 were apprenticed in the 12 years 1760–72, and only 3 were indentured in the 3 years before Harry's school closed in 1774. Why

15. The so-called ticket system was the practice of allowing slaves the freedom of hiring themselves out for paid employment, based upon a written permission ticket from the master.

the diminishing demand for poor white children to serve an apprentice-ship? In the long run, slave children were more economical and just as capable. When the 7 years of apprenticeship ended for a white child, he or she became a trained competitor or a salaried employee. Slave apprentices posed no such costs or threats of competition.

Stephen Wiberley (1975, 137) suggests that the decline of apprentice-ships relates to the rise of slave labor in the skilled trades. Daniel Littlefield (1991) documents the wide range of trades and occupations involving slaves in and around Charles Town, so this is a plausible explanation for fewer ap-prenticeships. The master of a slave trained as a craftsman or artisan would not be creating a competitor, as he would be in the case of an apprenticed orphan who would be free to establish his own business. In addition to Littlefield's work, Judith Joyner (1985) examines 1,411 advertisements in the *South Carolina Gazette* between 1767 and 1771 that offered slaves for hire, advertised slaves for sale, or sought the return of runaways. Joyner (1985, 42) finds "at least 60 occupations and skills," including sailmakers, glaziers, painters, ironwrights, ropemakers, cabinetmakers, sawyers, car-penters, wheelwrights, coopers, blacksmiths, tailors, shoemakers, caulkers, spinners, butchers, boat pilots, tanners, barbers, chandlers, storekeepers, doc-tors, jewelers, and wet nurses. Littlefield and Joyner then support Wiberley in his assertion that white apprentices were in low demand after 1750 and that in Charles Town slaves performed a wide range of skilled and semi-skilled occupations.

From the primary sources available, it is unclear as to whether or not the Charles Town school taught slaves to write.[16] Ullin Leavell (1970) cites the rules of the SPG specifying that children should be taught to read and to write a plain and legible hand in order for them to be employable. Kling-berg reports that in the slave school students were instructed from Dyches spelling books (a spelling dictionary of common English words), primers, and other sorts of spelling and reading books to prepare them to read the Bible, the New Testament, and the Common Prayer Book (1975). These ma-

---

16. Colyer Meriweather (1889, 213) reports that there was a "Free School" for poor white children authorized by the assembly that was operational as early as 1712. The Free School taught children to read and to write. Given that Garden designed the instruction at the slave school to be at least equivalent to the instruction in white schools, perhaps the slave school went beyond teaching reading and religious instruction. Nevertheless, the vestry minutes make no mention of sending any poor white children "on the Parish" to the Free School.

terials could also have been used to teach writing. Klingberg further suggests that in Charles Town, "public sentiment" might have allowed writing to be taught (109).

Clearly the 1740 Slave Code conflicted with the need of employers for skilled craftsman and artisans who could write. The disposition to educate individual slaves in writing might have depended more upon the slaveholders' interpretation of the law than its originally intended meaning. Skilled slave artisans, craftsmen, and even common draymen had no need of counterfeit tickets, as would runaways or unauthorized white workers. Therefore it is possible that in Charles Town, the training, employment, and apprenticeship needs of white employers and masters of skilled slaves and artisans could have resulted in them looking the other way and not enforcing the prohibition against teaching slaves to write. Lofton (1964, 51) states that slave owners had a tendency "to ignore the law," which, if followed, decreased their slaves' usefulness. Garden himself suggested that educating slaves to read and write should be compared to apprenticeship training (Klingberg [1941] 1975, 109–13). It is difficult to believe that the school would have enjoyed such overwhelming support from masters employing slaves to perform tasks requiring writing if there were no means of teaching writing and if only religious education was provided. Joyner concurs, writing that "While the religious motive was an important factor in slaves being taught to read, economic interests led to large numbers of slaves being taught not only to read but also to write and to be trained as skilled artisans" (1985, 41) Whether or not the slave school taught writing, at the very least it brought students to the very threshold of being able to learn to write.

Walter Fraser (1983) and Timothy Lockley (2005) assert that liberal poor relief policies were intended to form a bond between white poor and the elite, creating a buffer between the large population of slaves and their less numerous masters. Lockley (2005, 955) is correct that in Charles Town and in the colony, "considerable efforts" were made to educate poor white children and relieve poor women, children, and aged or disabled white males. However, this generous assistance failed to create a sense of white privilege, and it also did not ward off class alliances between the white poor and slaves, as Lockley claims. The poor relief system was not "an important, and hitherto unheralded, part of the gel that united white society" in colonial South Carolina, as Lockley contends (2005, 976). Whether or not the system of poor relief was even in part intended for white unity is

debatable. Many tangible and powerful social and economic policies relative to slaves and their labor marginalized white poor males, putting them at a competitive disadvantage relative to some slaves in Charles Town (Fraser 1989). While able-bodied but poor white males were never afforded poor relief, there was increasing social and economic self-sufficiency among slaves. A triad of closely braided policies (education, apprenticeship, and paid employment) favored slave agency and autonomy. Chief among these was the slave school, which educated black children almost 20 years before some poor white children were provided with an education. Apprenticeships also favored black children, as did almost all forms of employment, skilled and unskilled. These policies created demand for literate slaves among the skilled craftsmen, artisans, mechanics, and builders in Charles Town. Charles Bolton states that "because of the Charles Town Negro school" there were many educated Christian blacks in the city on the eve of the Revolution (1982, 119).

The so-called ticket system of slave labor created an abundant temporary labor force that undercut white laborer's asking price for wages.[17] The intelligence, agency, industry, and thirst for freedom of the African American draymen, carters, and dock and construction workers made them the first choice of employers, leaving poor white males with few chances at paid labor (Fraser 1989). Since the ticket system made winners of masters, employers, and slaves, few cared about the unemployment of poor white males. Three-quarters of a century later, Frederick Douglass ([1855] 2014, 246) observed that "the conflict of slavery with the interests of the white mechanics and laborers of the South" created tension between poor whites and slaves. "The slaveholders, with a craftiness peculiar to themselves, by encouraging the enmity of the poor laboring white man against the blacks, succeeds in making the said white man almost as much a slave as the black slave himself. He is flung into competition with a class of laborers who work without wages."

CONCLUSION

By any standard, Harry's life is an extraordinary story. While plantation slaveholders looked upon the act of educating slaves as utterly subversive

17. The system of slave tickets led to important sections of the 1740 Slave Act. Slaves who could read and write would counterfeit their own tickets. This became so widespread that it was expressly prohibited to teach slaves to write in the 1740 code.

of the slave system, the Charles Town slave education project enjoyed the support of the city's most powerful elite, many of whom were future founders of the nation. The project was judged to be an unqualified success with no notable detractors, at least until 1774. Garden's "experiment," as Klingberg ([1941] 1975, 102) labels it, proved beyond any doubt that young slaves could be taught to read as well as white children. Moreover, literacy was diffused throughout the city and fueled slave initiative and employment. On the eve of the American Revolution, in Charles Town there was a growing tendency toward economic self-sufficiency, autonomy, and even privilege among some slaves. Increasingly throughout the period, skilled apprenticeships were awarded to slaves rather than to poor white children. In conflict with the planter-dominated assembly's laws to control slaves, Charles Town's elite merchants and traders directed their attention toward social control of poor white males rather than rendering slaves more submissive (e.g., Fraser 1983; Lockley 2005). Some writers have suggested that poor whites were provided with liberal benefits to create a buffer between the elite and slaves; however, there is no evidence that any able-bodied poor white males were relieved at the parish's expense. Economics, religion, and the agency and initiative of the slaves themselves all interacted to create opportunities for slaves that were denied to poor whites. The increase in poor relief expenses for whites could be directly tied to policies promoting slave agency.

Of more than a dozen accounts of the Charles Town slave school by noted historians from different eras, only two recognize its influence, its uniqueness, and above all its contribution to American history. Klingberg ([1941] 1975, 101), comparing the Charles Town school to successful contemporaneous efforts by the SPG in New York and the Bray Associates in Philadelphia, asserted that the Charles Town school was "a unique contribution . . . to the wider field of Negro education . . . for the fundamental concept of his (Garden's) school was that it was to be conducted by trained Negro teachers, an important recognition of the abilities of the race." In his introduction to the chapter on the Charles Town slave school, Klingberg distills from Garden's letters to the SPG yet another distinction: "This school remains a monument to the Society's belief in the intelligence of the Negro and his equal rights to the benefits of religion and education" ([1941] 1975, 101). Joyner calls the school both "significant and unique" and also states that it was "the first Black teacher training school" in America (1985, 38–42). While his lessons have been forgotten by historians who choose instead to celebrate white founders, Harry's true legacy may be that slaves' ability

was proven for the first time, though it remained in question for at least two centuries thereafter.

In a nation where the accomplishments of African Americans have been overlooked, ignored, and even suppressed, Harry and his school should not be forgotten. The experiment in slave education could never have come off without the vision of Garden, nor would it have endured without the money and books from the SPG. However, it was Harry who made it a success against all odds. The elite vestrymen did not refer to the school as Garden's School nor was it labeled the SPG School. It was "Negro Harry's School." Carter Woodson, the first African American historian, writing specifically about the repressive 1740 South Carolina slave code, stated that it made the education of slaves "impossible" (1968, 8). By teaching many hundreds of pupils to read over a period of 32 years, Harry achieved the impossible.

APPENDIX

<div align="center">

Monday 28th March 1757
Present

</div>

Mr. Bremer ⎤
       ⎬ C. Ws.   Rev^d. M^r. Clarke ⎤
Mr. Hopton ⎦   Mr. Henry Laurens ⎥

Mr. Bremer ⎤		Rev^d. M^r. Clarke ⎤

The Petition of Harry, the Negroe Schoolmaster, praying some allowance for his Labour in teaching Negroe Children. Agreed that the Church Wardens Cloathe him in a decent manner as one of the parish.

<div align="center">

Thursday March 17 1768
Present

</div>

John Logan- Ch W

The Rev^d Mr. Robt Smith
Mr. Gab. Manigault
Mr. Dan Doyley
Mr. Geo Sheed
Mr. Geo Seaman   *Vestry*
Mr. Thos Smith
Mr. Ben Smith
Charles Pinckney

Ordered that Harry, the Negroe that keeps School at the Parsonage (for Repeated Transgressions) be sent to the Work house, and to be put into the Mad House, there to be kept — till orders from the Vestry to take him out.

<div align="center">

Monday September 19th 1768
Present

</div>

Mr. Danl. Cannon ⎤
       ⎬ Ch. Ws.   Mr. Charles Pinckney
Mr. Geo Ancrum ⎦   Mr. Gab. Manigault
                                  Mr. Ben Smith
                                  Mr. Geo Seaman
                                  Mr. Geo Sheed
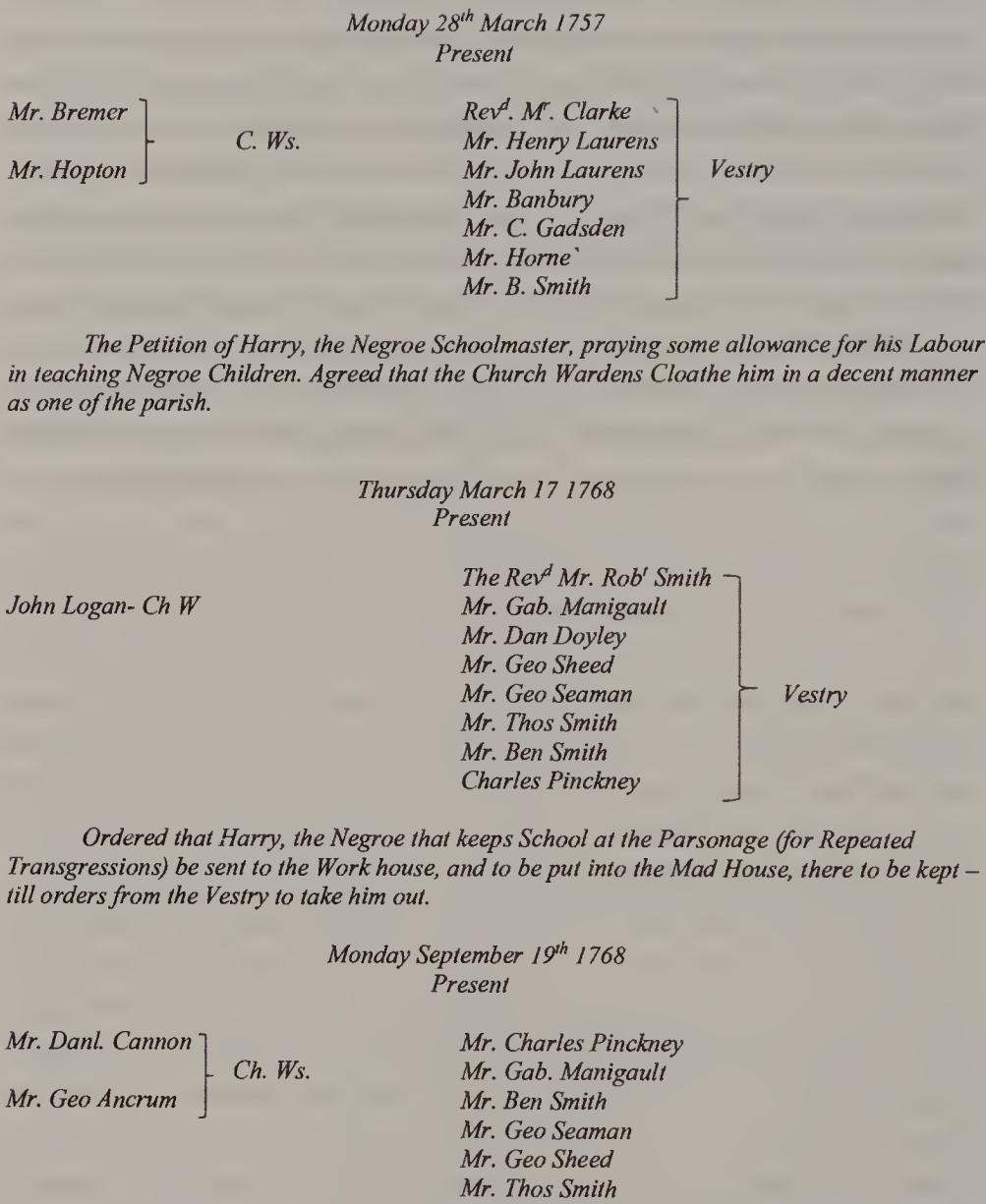   Mr. Thos Smith

FIGURE A1. Excerpts from St. Philip's vestry minutes concerning Harry or his school

Agreed that the Church Wardens do get a peace Warrant Against Peter Johnston for his ill treatment of Negroe Harry.

Monday 2nd May 1774

Messrs. William Mazyck ⎱ *CWs*
William Doughty ⎰

The Rev^d. M^r. Smith
Gabriel Manigault
Charles Pinckney
Danl Cannon
John Poaug
Roger Pinckney

Agreed that The Negro Harry's Monthly Allowance be stopt for Misbehavior

Monday the 1st August 1774

Messrs. William Mazyck ⎱ *CWs*
William Doughty ⎰

The Rev^d. M^r. Smith
Gabriel Manigault
Charles Pinckney
Danl Cannon ⎱ *Vestry*
Roger Pinckney
Charles Cotesworth Pinckney ⎰

Agreed that/ application be made to the Lieut.^{t} Governor for a room in the New Barracks & /Negro Harry's School be removed to one of the Rooms therein when such leave is obtain'd –

FIGURE A1. (Continued)

NOTE

Michael Byrd is a clinical assistant professor in the Arnold School of Public Health, University of South Carolina, where he directs public health practice, the Master of Public Health in General Public Health, and the Graduate Certificate in Public Health. Although tangible connections cannot be proven, the spirit of Harry's labor for equal opportunity in education continued well after the presumed closing of his school in 1774 and beyond the founding by literate blacks of Emanuel AME Church in 1816. Despite the efforts of slaveholders, who burned the church to the ground and curtailed formal slave education, the widely "diffused" slave literacy in Charleston begun by Harry was not slowed by reaction to the Vesey insurrection in 1822. This article is dedicated to Reverend Dr. Daniel L. Simmons, MSW, MDiv, who was killed along with eight other worshippers by a self-proclaimed white supremacist while teaching a Bible study at Mother Emanuel AME in June 2015. The church is located five city blocks from the site of the workhouse green where Dolly, Liverpoole, Thomas Jeremiah, and many others were executed. Denmark Vesey taught Bible studies in the original church and was hung near the workhouse green. In 1971, as a University of South Carolina social work student, every Thursday morning for the entire academic year I met Dan at his home in Columbia. A decorated Vietnam veteran and a former Greyhound bus driver, he drove us in his 1965 Cadillac DeVille to our field placement at the VA Hospital in Salisbury,

North Carolina. After completing his master's of social work, Dan went on to earn a master's of divinity and served as an AME minister in many small rural congregations in low country South Carolina. When he retired, he was a part-time minister at Charleston's historic Emanuel AME Church. I began working on this article in 1972, but never finished it. After Dan's death, I picked it back up. In many ways, Dan's story parallels that of Harry's. Both deserve to be remembered, for American history is one story of all its peoples. The missing dimension of slave accomplishment profoundly affects all Americans.

REFERENCES

Anderson, Dorothy M., and Margaret Eastman. 2014. *St. Philip's Church of Charleston*. Charleston, SC: History Press.

Birnie, C. W. 1927. "Education of the Negro in Charleston, South Carolina, Prior to the Civil War." *Journal of Negro History* 12 (1): 13–21.

Bolton, S. Charles. 1982. *Southern Anglicanism: The Church of England in Colonial South Carolina*. Westport, CT: Greenwood.

Byrd, Michael. 1973. "'Ye Have the Poor Always with You': Attitudes toward Relief of the Poor in Colonial Charles Town." Master's thesis, University of South Carolina, College of Social Work.

Comminey, Shawn. 1999. "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts and Black Education in South Carolina, 1702–1764." *Journal of Negro History* 84 (4): 360–69.

Cooper, Thomas, and D. J. McCord, eds. 1836–41. *Statutes at Large of South Carolina*. Columbia: South Carolina Historical Commission.

Dalcho, Frederick. 1820. *An Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina*. Charleston, SC: E. Thayer.

Douglass, Frederick. (1855) 2014. *My Bondage and My Freedom*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Duncan, John D. 1972. "Servitude and Slavery in Colonial South Carolina, 1670–1776." Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms International.

Edgar, Walter B. 1999. *South Carolina: A History*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.

Ford, Lacy K. 2009. *Deliver Us from Evil*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Fraser, Walter J., Jr. 1983. "The City Elite, 'Disorder,' and the Poor Children of Pre-revolutionary Charleston." *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 84 (3): 167–79.

———. 1989. *Charleston! Charleston! The History of a Southern City*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.

Harris, J. William. 2009. *The Hanging of Thomas Jeremiah: A Free Man's Encounter with Liberty*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Joyner, Judith R. 1985. *Beginnings: Education in Colonial South Carolina*. Columbia: Museum of Education, University of South Carolina.

Klingberg, Frank J. (1941) 1975. Reprint. *An Appraisal of the Negro in Colonial South Carolina*. Philadelphia: Porcupine.

Leavell, Ullin Whitney. 1970. *Philanthropy in Negro Education*. Westport, CT: Negro University Press.

Littlefield, Daniel. 1991. *Rice and Slaves: Ethnicity and the Slave Trade in Colonial South Carolina*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Lockley, Timothy. 2005. "Rural White Poverty in Colonial South Carolina." *Historical Journal* 48 (4): 955–76.

Lofton, John. 1964. *Insurrection in South Carolina: The Turbulent World of Denmark Vesey*. Yellow Springs, OH: Antioch.

McCrady, Edward. 1899. *The History of South Carolina under the Royal Government, 1719–1776*. London: Macmillan.

Meriweather, Colyer. 1889. *History of Higher Education in South Carolina*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

Morgan, Harry. 1995. *Historical Perspectives on the Education of Negro Children*. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Olwell, Robert. 1998. *Masters, Slaves, and Subjects: The Culture of Power in the SouthCarolina Low Country, 1740–1790*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Pierre, C. E. 1916. "The Work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts among the Negroes in the Colonies." *Journal of Negro History* 1 (4): 349–60.

Sundue, Sharon Braslow. 2007. "Confining the Poor to Ignorance? Eighteenth-Century American Experiments in Charity Education." *History of Education Quarterly* 48 (4): 123–49.

Weir, Robert M. 1997. *Colonial South Carolina: A History*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.

Wiberley, Stephen Edward, Jr. 1975. "Four Cities: Public Poor Relief in Urban America, 1700–1775." PhD diss., Yale University.

Woodson, Carter Goodwin. (1919) 1968. *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*. New York: Arno.

"We Don't Have a Plan. We Should Be Working on a Plan.": Obstacles to Caregiver Transition Planning for Individuals with Fragile X Syndrome

REBECCA T. FEINSTEIN
Hebrew University of Jerusalem

HAROLD A. POLLACK
University of Chicago

ABSTRACT Fragile X syndrome (FXS) is the most common heritable form of intellectual disability. Adults with FXS vary in their health status and functional capacity and require a range of caregiving activities, including full-time supervision, help with activities of daily living, and coordination of daily activities and services. Through the lens of life course theory, this qualitative study of 39 respondents examines caregiving, transition, and long-term planning for adults with FXS and examines related challenges for social service interventions. In-depth interviews enable caregivers to share their perspectives about many challenges, including the distinctive symptomology of FXS itself, family contextual factors, caregiving in a resource-scarce environment, and ways in which caregivers make choices in a complex bureaucratic system. Although caregivers identify many challenges in formulating and executing long-term plans, we consider several suggestions to improve the provision of services to individuals living with FXS and their families.

INTRODUCTION

An estimated 854,000 individuals with intellectual and developmental disabilities (IDD) in the United States are living with caregivers over the age of 60 (Braddock et al. 2015). Median lifespan for individuals with mild or moderate IDD now exceeds 70. Most of these men and women will outlive their parents, who are often their primary caregivers. Many of these older caregivers will themselves experience physical and cognitive difficulties.

These challenges are inevitable consequences of the tremendous increase in health and longevity experienced by individuals with IDD (Bittles et al. 2002; Glasson and Bittles 2008; Coppus 2013).

Data from the 2010 Family and Individual Needs for Disability Supports survey indicate that most caregivers (62 percent) did not have a plan for where their loved one would go if they themselves could no longer provide care (Anderson, Larson, and Wuorio 2011). Nearly two-thirds of all family caregivers worried that the people they cared for might have to go somewhere they did not want to live. In the event that a caregiver suddenly becomes disabled or passes away, adults with IDD without long-term plans often find themselves cared for by unprepared family members or placed in an emergency residential placement that may be inappropriate for their particular needs.

The published literature on caregivers of adults with IDD explores many areas, including caregiver burden, stress and coping, social services and support, quality of life, mental and physical health, transition planning, day and employment programs, and public policy. While individuals with IDD experience increased life expectancy, human service agencies frequently face constrained budgets and, hence, service rationing. The social service system continues to rely upon family members to be primary caregivers, even when adults with IDD experience acute physical health, behavioral, and daily living challenges that are problematic for caregivers to manage at home.

Our study surveys men and women who provide caregiving for a particular population of adults with IDD who have been diagnosed with Fragile X syndrome (FXS). We explore the challenges faced by caregivers over their life course and the challenges they encountered navigating the complex social service system. Many of our findings are pertinent to other intellectual and developmental disabilities. However, focusing on this segment of the IDD population allows us to address with some specificity the individual, family, and policy challenges associated with a complex syndrome.

This article investigates the processes involved in long-term planning for caregivers of adults living with FXS and the resulting implications for family well-being. We seek to understand the types and contexts of caregivers who have long-term plans, how these plans were created, and why some families do not have a plan at all. We consider four barriers that confront caregivers of adults with IDD throughout various life transitions: the inherent challenges of FXS itself, challenges posed by the needs of other family members,

constraints imposed by a limited social service system, and finally, barriers posed by bureaucratic complexity, which interact with the scarcity of available services to shape the choice architecture families experience as they seek to make sound decisions and pursue long-term planning under challenging circumstances.

BACKGROUND AND LITERATURE REVIEW
FRAGILE X SYNDROME (FXS)

FXS, the most common heritable cause of intellectual disability, poses many challenges to families across the United States. It also provides valuable context to consider broader complexities facing individuals with often severe disabilities, their families and caregivers, and medical and social service systems. The specific symptoms and disorders associated with FXS provide essential context for the current study.

An X-linked genetic disorder, FXS was first identified in 1943 by J. Purdon Martin and Julia Bell, who traced inheritance patterns within one family that included 11 affected males (Richards, Sylvester, and Brooker 1981). FXS's specific genetic mechanisms were not discovered until 1991—a breakthrough that James Watson is said to have called "the first major triumph of the human genome project" (Hagerman and Hagerman 2002; Pollack 2010).

FXS arises from a particular unwanted repeated sequence on the X chromosome. Although there is no exact mapping between the number of such repeats and symptom severity, more repeats are associated with more severe functional impairment. Individuals with more than 200 repeats are defined as having the full mutation. An estimated 1 in 3,800 males exhibits the full mutation. Approximately 90 percent of those individuals will display IQ scores below 70 and will exhibit characteristic physical features, such as an elongated face and macroorchidism (enlarged testes) and behaviors such as hand-flapping and palm-biting (Hagerman and Hagerman 2002).

Individuals with FXS are often shy, with attention deficits, hyperactivity, and sensory issues (Sullivan et al. 2006; Kidd et al. 2014; Richards et al. 2015). They may also experience communication disorders or display aggressive behaviors (Lewis et al. 2006; Bourgeois et al. 2011; Wheeler et al. 2014). Girls and women affected by FXS experience more varied symptoms because their second X chromosome provides some protection. Roughly

25 percent of females with the full mutation have IQ scores below 70. Seventy percent of females with the full mutation have IQs below 85 (de Vries et al. 1996; Lozano, Rosero, and Hagerman 2014). About 28 percent of boys and 11 percent of girls diagnosed with FXS also satisfy DSM-V diagnostic criteria for autism spectrum disorders (Wheeler et al. 2014).

A much larger number of individuals—an estimated 1 in 151 females and 1 in 468 males—identified by current FXS genetic screening tests are identified as premutation carriers (Seltzer et al. 2012). Like those with the full mutation, premutation carriers have an abnormal number of repeats, only these individuals have fewer repeats than are typically required to cause FXS. Since the number of repeats tends to grow over generations, premutation carriers are at risk of having children with the full mutation. Still other individuals exhibit more complicated patterns known as the mosaic type. These individuals appear to be less severely affected than those with the full mutation (Hagerman and Hagerman 2002).

Premutation carriers face distinctive medical risks (Kogan et al. 2008; Bourgeois et al. 2011). Men carrying the premutated gene may display Parkinson's-like syndromes known as FXS-associated tremor/ataxia syndrome (FXTAS) later in life. Women also face specific risks, such as FXS-associated primary ovarian insufficiency (FXPOI; Peprah 2014). Premutation carriers of both genders face elevated risks of learning disabilities, attention problems, anxiety, and depression, with more severe symptoms typically found among men.

Discussing the full range of FXS-related epidemiological and clinical concerns is beyond the scope of this article. While many treatments address specific symptoms, no therapy has been proven to address cognitive disabilities and the direct mechanisms of action associated with FXS.

THE DISTINCTIVE NATURE AND SYMPTOMOLOGY OF FXS

The diversity of FXS-related symptoms requires some exploration to understand the true planning and transition issues confronting both individuals and families. Individuals living with FXS greatly vary in their health status and functional capabilities. Many individuals require periodic vocational assistance or specific supports for independent living. Others require more intensive life-long supports. Individuals' ranges of functioning and caregiving needs may include full-time supervision; help with activities of daily

living, with an emphasis on eating and hygiene issues; and coordination of daily activities, special education, health care services, and public and private services (Hersh et al. 2011).

Caregiver stress, burden, and burnout reflect this constellation of needs, as do caregivers' related economic burdens (Greenberg, Seltzer, and Greenley 1993; Ouyang et al. 2014). Caregivers for adults with FXS are particularly likely to experience health problems, depressive symptoms, and anxiety (Abbeduto et al. 2004; Hartley et al. 2011) and are more likely to experience specific hardships, including financial burden, reduced employment, and physical injury (Bailey et al. 2012). Existing surveys suggest that parents of individuals living with FXS report lower levels of well-being than parents of individuals living with Down syndrome, but report higher well-being than parents of individuals living with autism. Adolescents' and young adults' behavioral symptoms are the most consistent predictors of these outcomes (Abbeduto et al. 2004).

The complex genetic mechanisms of FXS imply that many families have multiple children and extended family members who experience FXS-related symptoms or functional limitations (e.g., Richards et al. 1981). Caregivers may themselves be affected, particularly since males inherit the FXS gene from their mothers. This genetic responsibility may bring feelings of guilt and self-blame as well as judgment and stigma from others, including partners, about reproductive decision making (Raspberry and Skinner 2011; Bailey et al. 2015).

In epidemiological studies performed by Donald Bailey and colleagues (2009), parents of children diagnosed later in their childhood with FXS reported that they first became concerned when their sons were approximately 12 months of age. Yet, on average, these male children did not receive a proper diagnosis for another 2 years. Diagnostic delay was especially common with girls, whose FXS symptoms are often more diffuse. Provider ignorance heightens these difficulties. Roughly half of pediatricians surveyed in one recent study did not know that girls can experience FXS (Kemper and Bailey 2009). As a result, approximately 25 percent of boys and 39 percent of girls with the full mutation had a younger sibling with the full mutation before they themselves were diagnosed (Bailey et al. 2009).

Most individuals with FXS are cared for in their homes by their parents or by other caregivers in community residential settings, including group homes and independent living programs. As noted, FXS affects family functioning and coping based on the characteristics of the individual living

with FXS, including co-occurring conditions and behavioral symptoms, family sociodemographic status, availability of educational and employment opportunities for adults with FXS, family social support, and family composition (i.e., number and FXS status of affected children; Parish et al. 2004; Ouyang et al. 2014; Raspa et al. 2014).

Adults with FXS experience a wide-ranging constellation of functional limitations, and thus they require a variety of help with activities of daily living (ADLs) and instrumental activities of daily living (IADLs). While some adults with FXS require full-time supervision to ensure their safety, others are more independent, use public transportation, and participate in paid employment.

Others experience combinations of symptoms that stimulate aggressive behavior and accompanying safety risks. In one recent study, one-third of parents caring for sons with FXS had been injured by their sons in the previous year (Bailey et al. 2012). When such injuries occur, they are frequently repeated occurrences. Also, a history of aggression or maladaptive behavior narrows subsequent residential placement options, making residential placements both more urgent and more difficult to obtain and sustain (McIntyre, Blacher, and Baker 2002).

Many individuals with FXS experience difficulty maintaining a healthy weight, controlling food intake, and maintaining physical fitness (Pollack and Pollack 2006; Raspa et al. 2010). Communication disorders, unpleasant or forbidding hygiene issues, and behavioral outbursts position some adults with FXS to segregated day programs and group homes that are secluded from the community rather than supportive services that equip individuals to work and to participate in the society (Bagenstos 2015).

CAREGIVING OVER THE LIFE COURSE

Life course theory provides a useful conceptual lens for examining the transition and life-course planning challenges that confront most family caregivers (Elder 1999; Elder and Shanahan 2006). With its four central principles—lives in time and place, human agency, linked lives, and the timing of lives—life course theory seeks to view the whole person over the full life span, paying particular attention to developmental transitions and turning points that alter life trajectories (Elder 1994, 1995; Rutter 1996; Seltzer et al. 2001; Elder and Shanahan 2006). Life course theory informs this study by directing our attention toward the multiple life transitions and

linked lives of caregivers and those they care for and the muddled interdependency of decision making and long-term planning for adults with IDD. By embedding adults with FXS and their caregivers within their developmental, social, and historical contexts, life course theory lays out a frame for examining family caregiving challenges in relatiòn to larger social system complexities.

In the context of IDD, late twentieth-century changes in social policies, legal entitlement, and broader social practices have altered families' choices and sense of possibility (Trent 1994). Life course theory considers how the embeddedness of individuals and families in historical and social change transforms lives and changes intergenerational relationships. The emergence of family caregivers as an organized constituency, massive patterns of deinstitutionalization, and the large increase in government expenditures for home and community-based services are three important developments (Pollack 2007; Mansell and Ericsson 2013; Braddock et al. 2015). However incompletely realized, the aspiration to replace policies of social isolation or exclusion with those embracing community integration has altered the terms of policy debate. It has also altered the expectations held by individuals and families regarding where and how people who experience IDD should live. Geographical contrasts across urban and rural areas, and across states with starkly different public policies, also shape the life course. The life course framework highlights the increased sociopolitical complexity involved in long-term caregiving by directing attention to the particular contradiction of historical deinstitutionalization with the current practice of exclusion of adults with IDD in socially isolated living and day program environments.

People make choices in constrained situations that enable them to exert a measure of control over the course of their lives. Human agency is concerned with an individual's self-determination, self-regulation, and choice (Elder 1994). As caregivers seek appropriate services and funding for their adults with FXS, they operate within social service delivery systems that often undermine that agency. The loss of agency is a particular source of pain to many caregivers. It also brings important implications for their subsequent life trajectories.

Life course theory's emphasis on human agency stresses the important role of choice for the study population. Even with different preferences and constraints, caregivers who are presented with choices of programs and services are more likely to feel in control and thus empowered. Such

opportunities reinforce caregivers' self-efficacy, which further encourages forward thinking and long-term planning (Heller 1993; Hastings and Brown 2002). When caregivers experience a lack of agency, for example by being placed on long or arbitrary wait-lists, these experiences of lost control and limited choice have the opposite effect, encouraging caregivers to be more passive or to postpone critical choices and transitions until families experience a crisis.

Caregivers and the adults for whom they care have closely linked lives (Elder 1994). The life course framework allows for a more complex understanding of the parallel, linked lives of caregivers and their loved ones who live with disabilities. As adults living with FXS mature and develop different needs, their caregivers also face a different life course due to factors unique to adult IDD and FXS (Seltzer et al. 2001). Due to their round-the-clock responsibilities, many caregivers are not able to follow their own developmental life cycle and chronological trajectory. Caring for a person with FXS affects workforce participation, influences decisions about mid-life moving and retirement, and intensifies the caregiving role for those in the "sandwich generation" who are taking care of their parents and their children at the same time.

In addition to navigating the normative complexities of middle and later adulthood, these caregivers are fully responsible for adults with FXS who have their own distinct symptomology and caring needs. Caregivers often face burnout from the relentlessness or monotony of day-to-day caretaking, monitoring, and supervision (Parish et al. 2004; Factor, Heller, and Janicki 2012; Beatty 2013; Ouyang et al. 2014; Kowal 2015). Primary caregivers may themselves become physically limited, ill, or disabled as the adults they care for grow older with them. At times, these changes may lead an adult with FXS to require emergency placement or respite care and for siblings or others to assume different caregiving roles.

Social relationships are typically guided by predictable timetables based on social arrangements, practices, age norms, and age-graded beliefs (Elder 1995). Individuals with FXS make many important life transitions, though with atypical trajectories. School-based services are meant to ease the immediate transition to young-adult services. Life course theory is especially pertinent for our study population of adults with FXS because it emphasizes that the varied and delayed timing of these transitions rarely matches the normative timing of such transitions in broader American culture, and rarely matches the timing presumed in the design

of education, employment, and housing services. These realities impose additional obstacles and stress for adults living with FXS and their caregivers. Young adults are also forced to navigate a much more fragmented and constrained adult disability service system after aging out of more expansive federal programs and school-based service entitlements, what Samuel Bagenstos (2015) describes in the title of his article as the "disability cliff."

For caregivers of adults with IDD, middle adulthood brings new challenges, such as changes within intimate relationships, work issues and career changes, changing caregiving relationships, changes in household structure, and coping with illness and disability (Seltzer et al. 2001). Caregivers of adults with FXS face particular constraints during this period, when most other adults at their age are launching their children into independence, renegotiating and re-aligning relationships, and moving on (McGoldrick, Carter, and Garcia-Preto 2011).

With such demanding supervision needs and a paucity of respite care, many caregivers experience difficulties maintaining full-time or part-time employment. Over time, it is common for main caregivers to move in and out of the work force, working full-time, part-time, or choosing to stay home. Some caregivers, particularly women who can afford not to work, choose to provide home-based care instead of relying on services offered by the special education or social service system (Parish et al. 2004; Bailey et al. 2012). Others choose to or need to work to support their families and juggle their careers and the responsibilities of caregiving.

Finally, caregivers may mourn the unachieved milestones both of their children and themselves (i.e., the empty nest, retirement, grandchildren) that bring forth the most feared questions instigating this study: "Who will care for me when I get older?" and "What will happen when I am gone?"

PERTINENT POLICIES AND PROGRAMS

Diverse state and federal policies guide the treatment of Americans with IDD and the services available to care for them. This policy context guides this study and our caregiver survey in several ways. It provides the political and services context through which families interact with the helping system. Respondents implicitly or explicitly framed their comments in light of the available tools policy makers now deploy to (imperfectly) serve individuals with disabilities and their loved ones. These

policies also provide the context within which one might actually improve current efforts.

Although public assistance policies are embedded within many different systems, the expansion of Social Security Disability benefits since the mid-1950s, the establishment of Medicare and Medicaid in 1965, and the establishment of Supplemental Security Income (SSI) in 1972 provide the main pillars of income security and health care finance (Pollack 2007). The Education for All Handicapped Children's Act of 1975 (Public Law 94-142) sought to guarantee a "free, appropriate public education" to each child in the United States who lives with a disability. PL 94-142 was subsequently updated in what is now the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) of 2004. Other pertinent measures include the American Disabilities Act (ADA) of 1990, Medicaid Section 1915(b) Home and Community-Based Service (HCBS) Waiver, and, most recently, the Achieving a Better Life Experience (ABLE) Act of 2014.

IDEA seeks to ensure that all students receive a free and appropriate public education within the least restrictive environment. Eligible individuals of school age may receive specialized disability services between the ages of 0 and 3 (also called Early Intervention), and from age 3 to age 21 (some states have extended eligibility to age 25). Students are entitled to transition planning services at age 16 to help facilitate their move from school to post-school life following a generalized young adult developmental trajectory. This transition plan comes in the form of a federal mandate for a postsecondary transition plan included in their Individual Education Plan (IEP) that includes measurable goals for students in the areas of independent living, postsecondary education, recreation, work, and community life.

Most young adults with FXS have some kind of plan for a day program, educational program, or work plan in place once they finish high school. Although evidence-based strategies are available to assist these individuals in finding work in the integrated community environment through IDEA, these services are often beyond the scope of transition services offered in conventional vocational programs for young adults and, hence, are often constrained or not provided (Luecking and Wittenburg 2009; McDonough and Revell 2010).

The ADA prohibits discrimination and ensures equal opportunity for persons with disabilities in employment, state and local government services, public accommodations, commercial facilities, and transportation. Based on the ADA, the 1999 Supreme Court decision *Olmstead vs. L.C.*

(527 U.S. 581 [1999]) required states to eliminate unnecessary segregation of people with disabilities and ensure that community-based services are available for those who need them in the least restrictive environment. *Olmstead* litigation has remained a mainstay in efforts to expand residential services and other home- and community-based services.

The Medicaid HCBS waiver provides long-term care services to adults with disabilities in their homes and in community settings rather than in institutional settings. This program offers funding for case management (i.e., supports and service coordination), daytime caregiving in the home, home health aides, personal care attendants, adult day health services, and community-based day and residential placements (Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services 2016). Overall and average expenditures per recipient of Medicaid IDD HCBS waiver services have grown rapidly and are now approximately $4,000 per month (Eiken et al. 2015).

States widely vary in their waiting lists for HCBS services and in their waiting lists for residential placements (Braddock et al. 2015; Ng et al. 2015). As of 2011, 10 states reported zero individuals on waiting lists for, but not currently receiving, residential placements. The experience of large states such as California suggests that eliminating or sharply shrinking such waiting lists is feasible. Other states maintain large waitlists. Nine states would require a 50 percent increase in residential placements simply to eliminate the current waitlist (Larson et al. 2013). In Oklahoma, waiting times for nonemergency HCBS services are a reported 8 years (Beatty 2013).

The ABLE Act helps many individuals with disabilities acquired before the age of 26. It allows families to establish tax-advantaged accounts that can be used for qualified expenses, including education, housing, training services, technology, and transportation services. These accounts are exempt from Medicaid asset limits. Families can contribute up to $14,000 annually, with the first $100,000 exempt from standard SSI asset limits (NDSS 2015). Individuals who accumulate more than $100,000 would not receive SSI cash benefits but would retain Medicaid eligibility.

The above policies, implemented in diverse ways across the states, seek to offer adults with disabilities the majority of essential services they need. In practice, funding scarcity, service shortages, and long waitlists are major barriers to obtaining these services. Furthermore, the complex navigation of each of these programs by caregivers prohibits many from optimizing their use. Respondent narratives about their experiences interacting with these

policies and programs are ultimately used to inform future policy changes and recommendations.

THE CHOICE ARCHITECTURE OF FAMILY CAREGIVING AND PLANNING

Behavioral economics offers a useful, complementary lens to consider how individuals and families will actually navigate these challenges, given the material and decisional constraints of their lives and given the implicit or explicit options that helping systems make available and salient to them. Intensive caregiving demands pose their own obstacles to families' abilities to formulate and follow effective long-term plans over sensitive matters such as where an adult child might live once his or her parents can no longer care for him or her. The combination of these barriers becomes especially challenging because it complicates what behavioral economists call the "choice architecture" confronting caregivers (Benartzi and Thaler 2013)— the way choices, constraints, and default options are presented to people who are already managing daunting responsibilities and interacting with bureaucratically complex assistance systems.

In this context, behavioral economics concerns the way in which people interact with social service systems, and it proposes concepts, such as scarcity and bandwidth, that are particularly relevant to understanding common predicaments faced by family caregivers. Sendhil Mullainathan and Eldar Shafir (2014) suggest that such relentless demands and needs have predictable strong effects on caregivers' psychology and behavior. One consequence is a narrowing of perspective known as *tunneling*, whereby an individual becomes so captivated by one pressing issue that this impedes his or her ability to focus, plan, and make decisions about other important long-term concerns (Mullainathan and Shafir 2014).

Researchers who have studied caregiving families sometimes describe them as overly optimistic or in denial regarding long-term concerns (Freedman, Krauss, and Seltzer 1997). A behavioral economics perspective suggests that caregivers are simply focusing scarce resources, attention, and planning bandwidth on the most urgent matters. In the context of this study, choice architecture provides a productive framework to explore how families will likely respond to different incentives and policy interventions and how such interventions might more effectively help families understand and address their long-term needs.

CONTRIBUTION OF THIS ARTICLE

Our study surveys men and women who provide caregiving for adults with FXS in the United States. Our interviews narrate some serious hardships faced by FXS caregivers, including financial burden, reduced employment, physical injury, and mental health symptoms. We offer several contributions to the literature, as well as some policy insights.

First, we examine caregiving, transition, and long-term planning for the particular population of adults with FXS in a multidimensional way. Adults with FXS experience a distinctive constellation of symptoms, behaviors, and family dynamics that differs from that associated with other IDDs. Although this population attracts great attention within the specialty IDD literature, it is less familiar to the broader audience of policy makers and researchers who are concerned with medical care and social service delivery. Second, we frame our study through the conceptual lens of a life course perspective to explore the parallel development of individuals with FXS and their family caregivers over the course of their lives. We identify key transitions and challenges individuals with disabilities and their caregivers must navigate, typically over several decades. Third, this study is the first to apply concepts of behavioral economics to caregiving and disability by examining the choice architecture facing caregivers in a resource-scarce environment. We investigate ways in which caregivers make choices in a complex bureau-cratic system, how people respond to barriers such as waitlists, and what kinds of facilitators exist that would enable better choice determination. Finally, qualitative research methods provide rich data on caregiver experiences and their perceptions of long-term planning processes, which were previously undocumented and inaccessible by quantitative studies.

This article is of most direct interest to the community of individuals affected by FXS. Focusing on this one condition allows us to speak with greater specificity about the challenges facing caregivers. This analysis also has broader application. Among genetic conditions associated with intellectual disability, FXS is second in prevalence only to Down syndrome (which affects roughly 1 in 732 infants). As with other conditions, the complex genetics of FXS imply a broad range of symptoms even among individuals who share the same genotype. Several individuals, disproportionately males, may be affected within the same household or extended family.

Men and women living with FXS, like those who experience other intellectual disabilities, now display near-typical expected lifespans. These individuals and their caregivers thus face life course service and transition

planning challenges that commonly arise for many other intellectual disabilities. Like many other intellectual disabilities, FXS is also associated with a high prevalence of behavioral comorbidity and autism-like symptoms. Behavioral issues such as binge eating and food hoarding, which are common among individuals with FXS, are also common among individuals with Prader-Willi syndrome and other IDDs. Accompanying issues of caregiver burden, safety, financial strain, and burnout are thus similarly common.

METHOD

Between May 2014 and February 2015, we conducted two focus groups ($N = 11$) and 26 open-ended phone interviews (45–60 minutes) with caregivers of adults living with FXS in the United States. We chose to use qualitative methods in order to gather personal and detailed accounts about caregiving challenges that would be unattainable by a quantitative survey and to investigate how these caregiving challenges manifested themselves for different types of caregivers of adults with FXS. Respondents for the focus groups were recruited from an academic medical center's FXS clinic via sending flyers about the study by e-mail and phone calls by the clinic coordinator to families caring for an adult (age 18 or older) with FXS.

After conducting two focus groups, we realized that the group dynamic, while supportive to the caregivers, was a barrier to the candid family-specific conversations about long-term planning that we sought to conduct. Therefore, we changed our sampling method to include individual interviews with American caregivers of adults with FXS nationwide. Respondents for the phone interviews were recruited from a FXS clinic, a parent listserv, and a Facebook group. Any interested caregiver of an adult with FXS living in the United States was allowed to participate in the study. No other exclusions were made. The 31 caregivers who initially responded to the advertisement were immediately offered a phone call interview and were sent more information about the study, a consent form, and a link to the web-based survey via e-mail. Of those 31, 26 caregivers participated in the phone interview using the same interview questions from the focus groups, and 25 caregivers filled out the web-based survey (including two respondents who did not participate in the phone interview). Three caregivers who initially sought interest in the study failed to respond to follow-up messages via e-mail and phone and did not participate in the study. All interactions followed protocol approved by the University of Chicago Institutional Review Board.

Preceding each focus group or phone interview, caregivers were asked to fill out a short, web-based quantitative survey developed by the authors specifically for this caregiving population of adults with FXS. The survey captured descriptive characteristics, such as age, family size, income, race/ ethnicity, education, and marital status. In addition, the survey asked questions about the health and caregiving needs of the FXS adults the respondents cared for, health care decision making and transition planning, health care and caregiving costs, and family and social support. The survey also served as a prompt for caregivers to think about these questions before the focus groups or phone interviews. It also provided another data source for triangulation of the results.

The focus group and individual phone interview questions were developed by the authors to explore respondents' experiences caring for adults with FXS and their perceptions of barriers and facilitators to providing adequate long-term care in light of current state and federal policies and programs. In accordance with IRB requirements, the interviewer reviewed the consent process, respondent privacy, and confidentiality laws with each participant. After giving written consent to participate in the focus group and verbal consent to participate in the phone interviews, caregivers were asked open-ended questions to elicit detailed information about their caregiving needs, the effects of their caregiving on their family, and their future caregiving plans for the adults with FXS for whom they cared. All respondents gave consent to have the interviews digitally recorded. Each interview was then transcribed, cleaned, and de-identified before coding. Respondents were offered a $50 incentive payment as compensation for their time. Figure 1 shows the interview questions.

Transcribed interview data were analyzed by thematic, open, and matrix coding by the authors with the use of Nvivo (QSR International Pty Ltd 2012). Initially, we coded the data thematically using a list of a priori codes reflecting the specific aims of the research, life course theory, and interview questions prompts (Boyatzis 1998; Fereday and Muir-Cochrane 2006). During the coding process, additional "open" codes emerged through pattern recognition that were examined systematically during a second reading of the interviews (Hsieh and Shannon 2005; Elo and Kyngäs 2008). After the thematic theory and data-driven patterns were defined and classified, the data were interpreted through thematic analysis (Boyatzis 1998).

Several reliability measures were taken, including coding by both researchers and triangulation of data with results of the quantitative survey,

1. Tell us about some of the main struggles you have caring for your adult child with Fragile X.

2. Who else is involved in the care of your child with Fragile X (i.e., siblings, other relatives, friends)?

3. What types of public and private social services have you mobilized to help care for your adult child (i.e. SSI, SSDI, DMR, DMH, Medicaid, Case Management Programs, community-based services, etc.)?

4. Caregiving for a child with Fragile X syndrome can be a full-time job. How has caring for your adult child's needs impacted your (and your spouse's) ability to work?

5. Tell us a bit about your main concerns about caring for your child's needs in the future.

6. Some families make plans to care for their adult children with disabilities in the case that they are unable to care for them anymore (i.e., caregiver aging, disability, or death). What are your thoughts about making such a plan?

FIGURE 1. Questionnaire

memos, and self-reflection notes about the interviewing and coding processes (Padgett 2004). Caregiver respondents recruited via online social media were more likely than others to be educated, earning at least the median family income, and be connected with services and support. Data collected in the in-depth interviews were analyzed and interpreted within this context.

RESULTS
PARTICIPANT DEMOGRAPHICS

Eleven respondents participated in two focus groups, and each of the 11 focus group participants completed the online survey. Of the 31 respondents who initially volunteered to participate in phone interviews, 25 completed the online survey (including two respondents who did not complete the phone interview), and 26 completed the phone interview. Counting the online survey ($N = 36$), focus groups ($N = 11$), and phone interviews together ($N = 26$), we have data from a total of 39 caregiver respondents

(see table 1) regarding 46 adults with FXS (see table 2). Given these two types of data, we identify focus group participants with an "F" prefix. We identify respondents to our individual survey with the prefix "R."

The 39 caregivers of adults with FXS included mothers ($N = 30$), fathers ($N = 3$), sisters ($N = 3$), a brother ($N = 1$), an aunt ($N = 1$), and a

TABLE 1. Social Demographic Characteristics of Caregivers ($N = 39$)

Characteristic	Number of Caregivers
Gender:	
Female	34
Male	5
Relation to person with FXS:	
Mother	30
Father	3
Sister/brother	3/1
Aunt	1
Friend	1
Age of caregiver:	
70+	1
60–69	8
50–59	20
40–49	4
20–39	1
I choose not to answer this question	5
Income bracket:	
$100,000+	11
$80,000–99,000	4
$60,000–79,999	7
$40,000–59,999	4
$20,000–39,999	2
I choose not to answer this question	11
Highest educational degree:	
High school graduate	2
Some college	9
Associate's degree	4
Bachelor's degree	10
Post-college degree	11
I choose not to answer this question	3
Race/ethnicity:	
Caucasian	35
Black	3
Hispanic	1
Employment:	
Full-time	22
Part-time	4
Unemployed	2
Home caregiver	6
Retired	4
Disabled	1
Genetic mutation status:	
Premutation carrier	16
Full mutation carrier	8
Mosaic mutation carrier	1
Not a carrier	1
Don't know or unanswered	13

TABLE 2. Characteristics of Adults with FXS ($N = 46$)

Characteristic	Number of Adults with FXS
Gender:	
Female	8
Male	38
Mutation type:	
Full mutation	42
Mosaic	4
Age of adult with FXS:	
50+	3
40–49	0
30–39	9
22–29	27
17–21	7
Current living accommodation:	
Home	38
Group home	6
Independent living	1
Other (in someone else's home)	1
Geographic service area:*	
Urban/suburban	29
Rural	10

* Geographical service area is measured by self-report of respondents or by zip code. Those with zip codes over 1 hour away from a major city with a hospital according to Google Maps were categorized as rural.

friend ($N = 1$). The age of the caregivers ranged from 23 to 75, with an average age of 56 years. Thirty-six respondents designated themselves as primary caregivers; 35 of them were female. Eight were caregiving alone as either single ($N = 1$), divorced ($N = 6$), or widowed ($N = 1$) mothers.

Ten caregivers reported caring for a disabled spouse or parent in addition to a person with FXS. Among the participants, 11 caregivers reported having two or more children with FXS. Five reported having other family members with FXS. Nine cared for two children (siblings) with FXS.

Sixteen caregiver respondents reported that they themselves were premutation carriers. Eight reported being full mutation carriers, and one reported a mosaic mutation. Only one caregiver reported that he or she was not in any way a FXS carrier.

THE DISTINCTIVE NATURE AND SYMPTOMOLOGY OF FXS

The nature and symptomology of FXS posed distinctive challenges at many points throughout the life course for both individuals living with FXS and their caregivers. This constellation of challenges posed particular barriers to the inclusion of adults into community living.

Supervision

Some individuals living with FXS can be left alone for some period of time, or function with a high degree of independence in family and work roles. R312 cared for an individual who was able to work with substantial autonomy:

> He is working at one of our local hotels, and he helps in a laundry room with folding and sorting. Cleans up the breakfast area, cleans up the pool area, sometimes helps housekeepers tear down the beds and things like that. . . . Then he's also working at one of our local grocery stores, where he puts items on the shelf. He's a shelver. He does that. We have him hooked up with the YMCA. That was a 2-year battle, but we've got him hooked up there with a personal trainer, so he can do some working out, now that he's out of school.

In similar fashion, R325 cared for a loved one who volunteered for a local church:

> She volunteers at our church with the children's program, through the Catholic Catechism, on Saturday. She helps out. She's there in the class with them. She does real basic things, like answer a phone, or she knows how to make a copy. She likes doing that. She likes working with kiddos.

About half of respondent caregivers ($N = 18$) reported that they were unable to leave their adults with FXS at home alone and unsupervised. The remaining half described being able to leave for short period of a few hours, or in a very few cases, overnight. R302 recalls what happened when she tried to leave her son at home without supervision:

> When he was at home all day, they get into stuff. I'm telling you it's almost like when I say you have a toddler. . . . My seasoning would be missing. The toilet would be messed up. Microwave . . . just everything.

Our study sample spans a large range of adult functioning. Eighteen caregivers described that the adults they cared for required full-time supervision during day programming. In contrast, 11 caregivers reported that the adults they cared for were independent enough to participate in paid

employment. Nine adults with FXS were reported to be independent enough to be their own legal guardians.

Behavior

Caregivers struggled to cope with their loved ones' negative behaviors, which sometimes ranged from to anti-social to aggressive conduct. R306 described her experience of walking on eggshells in order to prevent her son from having aggressive outbursts:

> He's not aggressive or violent just for the sake of it. There's an underlying issue. I know what triggers it. I spend the vast majority of my days working around knowing how to prevent something like that from happening.

Three respondents in particular did not shy away from sharing their fears of being injured by the aggressive behavior of their adult children. R326 recalled being pushed down the stairs accidentally, which resulted in her breaking a rib and puncturing her lung. Although she admitted that her 23-year-old son was a safety risk and that this situation would likely be considered a crisis that might get him an emergency residential placement, she worried that he would not receive good care in such a placement. She seemed to prefer the calculated risk of receiving another injury over the possible harm that might befall her son in a residential placement, particularly one that included other young men with similar behavioral symptoms to his. R326 was not alone with her concerns about residential care. F208 similarly expressed the perspective of many others with her statement: "Nobody will take care of him like we do."

Activities of Daily Living (ADLS)

Eleven respondents emphasized the burden of food control on the household. In some cases, food needed to be locked up. In others, adults with FXS could not join the family to eat publicly in restaurants or at family gatherings. R301's description of this phenomenon emphasizes this continuous burden of caregiving.

> He'll be 35 in December. He has a giant appetite. It's very difficult to keep his eating habits . . . because he eats like he's insatiable and there's no stopping. . . . If he breaks out of his environment and gets into my kitchen,

he'll eat everything out of the freezer, everything in the cabinets; I'll come home . . . I'd come home and the whole house . . . there's throw-up everywhere, and crumbs . . . all kinds of things.

Personal hygiene poses related issues, with caregivers needing to either prompt or help the people in their care to wash and with toileting routinely. Approximately half of the caregivers interviewed ($N = 19$) reported that they assisted with personal care, hygiene, and toileting. R305 explained her intimate caregiving responsibilities:

For now, probably 5 days out of a week, I give him a good wash, a good scrubbing, a good, take care of that. Then 2 days I'll let him do it on his own. Same thing with brushing his teeth, I'm not always going to be there to brush his teeth. For the most part I have him do it and just trying to give the repeated reminders and to do it, because if he had his way he'd never brush his teeth. As a caregiver that's the stuff that gets old.

This particular statement, "that's the stuff that gets old," highlights the confined weariness of the mundane routine. Some adults with FXS required constant care and supervision, both in and out of the home. Others could take on more independence, such as by cooking or using public transportation, but still required coaching, practicing, and continued monitoring. R308 explained:

My son is pretty independent as far as being in the home. He doesn't need constant care and supervision. I cannot leave him alone for any length of time, but he can dress himself, he can feed himself, he can do all the basic things independently except for shaving. He doesn't do such a great job, but he cannot prepare meals for himself. I don't feel comfortable leaving him home alone for more than an hour or two, so we're pretty much prisoners.

Communication

A third of the respondents ($N = 14$) reported that their loved one with FXS experienced a communication disorder and did not read and write. Caregivers reported that their loved ones were often being misunderstood, being victimized, or being hurt or in accidents, and were not able to communicate any of these issues. R311 stated her concerns:

One of the biggest stumbling blocks we face is that he is nonverbal. He can't tell us what's going on. To put him . . . you can have all the nightmares of the abuse that exist out there, and it exists. The fear that someone would harm him and we wouldn't know makes it very difficult for us to think about it.

SOCIAL SERVICE SYSTEM COMPLEXITIES OVER THE LIFE COURSE

Virtually all respondents expressed frustration with social system barriers. These discussions particularly emphasized barriers and complexities during three key transition points: aging out of high school to young adulthood, progressing from young to middle adulthood, and moving to long-term placements as caregivers themselves age into later adulthood.

The First Transition: High School to Young Adulthood

The transition to adulthood is not a single event, but rather a sequence of transitions, turning points, and potential false starts. For most young adults, the transition from high school is a clear, momentous, and socially recognized developmental milestone that initiates formalized expectations of adulthood. This chronological pathway (or something close to it) also marks the mechanical transition from school-based to adult service systems.

When asked about long-term planning for adults with FXS, most respondents initiated their discussion by describing the first transition out of high school. Many of the caregivers reported that, at the end of secondary schooling, the young adults in their care were unprepared to leave the family home or to make a permanent transition into a work or residential placement. Others tried an approach that eventually had to be modified. Services may be less effective than originally hoped. The individual, the caregiver, or other family members may encounter logistical or health difficulties. Adults' legal service entitlements are greatly attenuated. Many services and supports they had previously used are no longer available once individuals pass over the "disability cliff" from the abundant resources of the child-focused social, health, and educational system to scarce resources of the adult system in their early or mid-twenties.

R302, for example, described her son's educational and transition plan, which included a move to another state:

I have been very fortunate because here in Illinois, you can only go to school to the day before your 22nd birthday. In Michigan, you can attend school until

you're 26. It's called [a transitional center] . . . it's a vocational school for special needs children, adults only. They have to, they have one school year that you can be up to 19. This one is for kids from 20 to 26.

R303 recounted the different experiences of her two sons with FXS, one who successfully transitioned to working at a job from an occupational program and one whose program experience was less effective because it failed to address his specific needs.

[Son living with FXS 1] went to [a special occupational program] at [a public school]. It was a 2-year program that teach them through training, so I was able to get him a job at [a hospital] and he's been there 7 years.

[Son living with FXS 2] is totally different. . . . We found a school, and it was [a high school]. It's a vocational school. It's all for special ed. That's all they do. He was in that program for 5 years. The only problem was we wasn't able to get him to do transition where there was a program where he could go to, to learn, to work. Because [son living with FXS 2], he has to use a Pace transportation because he is real anxious. When we were trying to teach him how to ride the bus, he couldn't. He didn't like crowds. He didn't have a patience to wait for his stop. He would get off right away, so that didn't work.

R303 described a valuable example of the varied effectiveness of the same type of transition program on individuals who face different strengths and barriers. Her older son successfully transitioned into long-term paid employment. Her second son's anxiety in crowds and difficulty with public transportation, which are common among individuals living with FXS, became major barriers to personal independence within the framework of available supports and services.

Other caregivers described a similar mismatch between available opportunities and their loved ones' specific skills and difficulties. R318 reported that her son was doing well in the transition program but that his verbal difficulties raised major impediments for him and for his coworkers despite his facility with sign language. R304 was trying to help her son to discover a way to find paid employment and become more integrated into the community:

I don't see him working unsupported, but I think he's capable of doing lots of things. The problem for me is getting him into a place to interview and get the

job. That's probably the hardest part. Is he capable of working at the movie theater, ripping tickets, making sure people have tickets? Yes. Is he capable of working at the bagel shop, wiping off tables, taking the trash, and doing this and that? Yes. But I have to get him in there to do the resume and get him in that routine of going every day.

This young man seemed to need work-support services in order to work at the movie theater or at the bagel shop. Such services are typically provided to school-age individuals as entitlements under the ambit of IDEA, but they are much harder or more burdensome to obtain within adult vocational and rehabilitation systems.

F206 conveyed her own worries regarding this transition, including concerns about segregation from the community, as she depicted the possible scenario for her son if he was not eligible for funding for a day program as part of his transition from school-based services:

He functions like a 2-year-old. . . . He does play some very limited toddler-like computer games. But 24 hours every day all day long, TV and a computer game for stimulation? That's not going to do either one of us any good. He likes to be around other people. . . . So I'm really worried about what we're going to do once school ends. I don't want him to be home 24 hours a day, and if we don't get funding, that's going to be the case.

The possible loss of funding was also frustrating for this caregiver, as she had very little agency and control over her son's caregiving situation.

Another caregiver, R316, conveyed her worry about what would happen when her son turned 26 and would no longer be eligible for a day program that included transportation. Once their loved ones aged out of school-based services and accompanying federal mandates, caregivers often feared that they would be placed in segregated residential settings and sheltered workshops with no realistic plan for personal development or community integration. As R304 explained, "My fear, if he ever were to live in a group home, is he could end up doing nothing, except that he'll end up going along with the routine of people."

The Second Transition: Middle Adulthood
Middle adulthood brings new challenges to the family life cycle and the life course: changes within intimate relationships, work issues, and career changes; changes in household structure; changes in caregiving needs; and changes

in coping with the illness and disabilities of both adults with FXS and their caregivers. By their mid-to-late twenties, adults living with FXS age out of the initial IDEA transition plans that were created when they were in high school, have different needs, and often want new opportunities. These later transitions are not marked by any specific time, process, or support structures. Many of the caregivers we spoke to struggled with the bureaucratic complexity of finding appropriate services on many fronts (i.e., vocational, caregiving, and residential) during these years. Furthermore, some adults with FXS experienced multiple transitions during this period of middle adulthood, generally corresponding to different caregiving needs, the availability of better services, and changes in the family context.

While 10 caregivers still had their young adults attending IDEA-mandated transition programs or home-based care during this period of middle adulthood, others were more focused on meeting the needs of loved ones who had aged out of such services. Since these young adults had already exited the short-term service plans initially offered by special education systems, their caregivers reported needing a change in their day programming and adding a long-term living accommodation. In some cases, young adults simply outgrew their IDEA transition plans and the plans became inappropriate. In other cases, a program became logistically unfeasible or the caregiver was dissatisfied with the program's quality. In still others, caregivers determined that specific programs were failing to develop their loved ones' long-term capacities and independence. For example, R318 related how her son's previous schooling and training was done only in a certain way, which "pigeonholed" him into a certain type of program instead of expanding his capacity for independence.

> He's been in the adult services world for a little over a year. His biggest obstacle . . . is he's not verbal. That's a big obstacle for him and for the people that work with him. He does have a communication device, which we are presently trying to get updated to his program. He knows [sign language]. The only reason we had to go in that program is because that's the way he did his schooling, was always had a one on one that he could do small group things, and all that. He got pigeonholed a little bit, and now we're trying to break through that a bit.

This man needed modifications to his day program according to his developmental and intellectual needs, yet his mother found little support from his adult services program in addressing these challenges.

When respondents were asked about their greatest concerns about care-giving during this period, their answers differed depending on their loved ones' specific capabilities and limitations. Three program funding challenges emerged from the data: no services available and no eligible funding; services available, yet no eligible funding; and funding available, yet no available services. Caregivers also depicted related bureaucratic obstacles and how models of service provision were at times incompatible with their needs. Some struggled with the SSI application process and the voluminous or complicated paperwork involved with SSI enrollment and taking guardianship or conservatorship. R308 described how the services provided in her state were both limited and incompatible with her son's need:

> It's basically an all or nothing approach. You either get so many services families don't know what to do with all of the services and they're not used, or you pretty much get nothing until your name comes up on the list and then you get it. That's where we are right now, once again on that proverbial list of waiting to get services, which is not uncommon in many, many states.

Another mother, R312, described how the "all or nothing approach" left the sickest adults with the majority of services and those who were higher functioning with more limited access to supportive services that encourage independence.

> I think the most difficult challenge is that we have a fight getting resources. There's no social networking, there's no recreational activities he can get into. Finding jobs, finding volunteer opportunities, finding caregivers. Any of that is very difficult. There's supposed to be places that help you, but they don't. Things that he is able to do are not appropriate for him. That is why he is not in adult day programming.

Caregivers also noted program constraints that allowed state funding only for specific types of care within certain settings. Most respondents ($N = 31$) cared for adults with FXS in their homes, with little public funding. Some had access to day programs, recreational programs, or respite care. Ten reported no programming at all; their loved ones stayed home all day, every day. R311 was not alone when he explained his frustrations about getting support for caregiving at home:

> [My state] will pay my neighbor to care for my child. They have a program they call [family care program], which means if someone's living at a family home,

with another family in a family home. They'll pay my neighbor to take care
of him. We're now paying agencies to take care of him. They won't support
us. The support we get is very, very minimal.

R311 had a high enough income to pay for care privately. Caregivers with
lower incomes created innovative strategies to circumvent these constraints.
R306 arranged for her daughter-in-law to care for her adult son because she
could receive state funding to do it:

> He gets 300 hours a year of respite care, and she can do that because he'll
> cooperate with anything [daughter-in-law] says we're going to do. It works out
> really well with [daughter-in-law] because my son and she have a little girl and
> [son living with FXS] thinks he's watching baby. So it works out well. It's a
> win-win for everybody.

Such cases underscore the uneven and sometimes unexpected distributional
consequences of bureaucratic implementation. These cases also highlight
the opportunities that were available to some families to address specific care-
giving needs.

Several respondents noted novel arrangements designed to expand ac-
cess to flexible residential arrangements. R318, for example, discussed the
emergence of community group homes organized by families:

> People are creating their own situations. . . . I've met many, many, many people
> who have done that in this state. We're just trying, in steps, to get him to that
> place where he's going to be happy and have things around him that will make
> him happy, and be doing things that he'll feel that he's proud of and he's happy
> about.

R331 described an independent living program near a major city:

> A group of 15 families, including myself, formed it as a way to create a
> community for individuals who can live independently with some support.
> They live in their own apartments.

Such arrangements illustrate families' ingenuity in finding novel arrange-
ments to address the limitations and constraints of local services.

Scarcity of respite care (and respite workers) provided another topic of
conversation among many caregivers ($N = 23$) whose loved ones were not

eligible for funded day and residential programs. R306, the respondent described above whose daughter-in-law cared for her son, also reported a shortage of respite care workers in her area and was grateful to be able to hire her daughter-in-law instead.

R311 offered his perspective on how the state manages its shortage of respite care. He argued that the state rations respite care dollars through managed care and makes them difficult to obtain by only offering these services through community service organizations. The problem, as he perceived it, is that these organizations cannot find workers to provide the care.

> The problem is that they're only willing do that for people who are working for these agencies, and the people working for the agencies, they're getting $9 or $10 an hour. They're not getting $18 an hour. I could recruit all the people I want to do it [for] $15 an hour, but I can't do that, because in order for somebody to give the service they have to go through an agency who's going to pay them $9 or $10 an hour. That lack of fiscal control just leaves me in the dust.

Given the lack of operational and financial control in these formal arrangements, R311 chose to pay privately for respite care.

Almost all of the caregivers described how they went through repeated trial and error to obtain (and sometimes maintain) a service, to the point that some gave up. R303 illustrated her frustration and surrender to the system, saying, "It's almost to the point that you just—I mean I have tried before, and I just let it go. I mean there's nothing else I could do, and I have to deal with it so that's what I just do."

Caregivers expressed how crucial their role is within the advocacy process, to the point that more than one-third ($N = 14$) either had background in special education or sought degrees in special education to better advocate for services and funding. The reported motivations behind this advanced education were threefold. The first was to acquire knowledge and skills that would help caregivers successfully navigate the health and social welfare system. Second, with further knowledge, caregivers reported feeling more empowered and in control of their situation. R327 described her efforts to improve her caregiving by seeking a master's degree in developmental psychology: "Yes, I have a master's. After the kids were born and I went to school to try to learn something about appropriate or difficult development, so I would understand how to work a little better in context of

the rest of it." Third, respondents wished to share the knowledge that they learned as caregivers to assist other families. R308 changed her career path as a result:

> They always called him the involuntary pioneer because he basically paved the way for so many other kids behind him to have those opportunities. I went back to school and got my master's in special education, so my whole life's just been to a whole different direction as a result of his diagnosis. . . . My job has basically been, since he was diagnosed, I made a shift in my life and went from being a full-time mom to being a full-time advocate.

In similar fashion, R306 developed extensive knowledge and experience, which she then used to take a position in an FXS clinic. Like many other respondents in our sample, this mother was dedicated to helping and supporting caregivers because she faced so much difficulty on her own and she wanted to reciprocate the support she received from others.

Female caregivers additionally sought, with mixed reported success, to maintain professional or work identities while fulfilling their family and caregiving roles. Of the 36 respondents who designated themselves as main caregivers, 35 were female. Fourteen of these women either did not work at all, quit their jobs for some period, or worked part-time jobs in order to provide care. For example, R307 gave up her wish to be a teacher to educate her two boys:

> I could not get a teaching job. . . . I tried initially, and then we had children, and then I never tried again. . . . That has been my career, is educating the boys, so even though I don't have a salary, and I'm not getting the credit for it from the state, or whatever else, my boys wouldn't be where they are if we hadn't done this all along.

Many women who worked full-time had flexible arrangements to allow for caretaking, including working from home. R303 described how her flexible work schedule ensured proper services for her son:

> We have to change different schools for him because at that time, there wasn't a special needs program for small kids in the city. I live in the city, and I stayed in a remote area, so it was really hard for me to find a program for him. I

was working in retail at that time, so my schedule is really flexible where I wasn't really able to start a career and do anything else because I needed to be there with him.

Middle adulthood is also a time when people make geographic moves for employment, retirement, or to be closer to other loved ones such as elderly parents or young grandchildren. Some caregivers purposively moved to other states in order to access better long-term services, especially state-funded independent living and group homes. Twelve families moved across state lines and struggled to engage new service systems. R308 reported: "When I moved down here, he had had a job in [another state] working in an assisted living center in the kitchen. He absolutely adored it and was very successful at the job. Unfortunately, he had to give it up when we moved." One respondent, R322, tried to move to another state for her employment, but she was unsuccessful in finding services for her son (whose IQ was over 50 and was deemed too high to get funding for services). She eventually moved back to her hometown. She said:

> If I would have known what I know now, before going to [—], I wouldn't have moved there. We get there and basically he wasn't eligible for anything.
> I was dumbfounded. I couldn't believe it. We ended up moving back . . . which isn't all that much better, but he did. . . . We were on a waiting list for him to get funding here, which he did, about a year and a half after we moved back. . . . Now we live here and he lives with me. He attends a day program 5 days a week, and he enjoys it very much.
> As far as anything for residential, that comes from comprehensive funding here, which the waiting list is I don't know how many years long. Probably 5 to 6, I think, at this point.

R322's story is representative of the experiences of many caregivers who have to restart the process of learning about, applying for, and attempting to get funding for day and residential care with every move, particularly moves across state lines.

Ten out of 39 respondents lived in rural areas and struggled with regional differences (urban/suburban vs. rural) in the availability of social services. R325 described her concerns about living in a southern rural state:

> We're very, very South [state] . . . South, South. My biggest concern is the
> services. I wish there was more for not just her, but all the other young
> adults that live in our area. Like I said, there are some, but I would have to
> drive 45 minutes away. The closest place is [city] and that's 45 to 50 minutes
> away. They do have something during the day. I can't take her, because
> I'm at work.

Like R325, other rural respondents reported difficulties in accessing ser-
vices due to the sheer lack of services in rural areas and the long distances
that they would need to drive for their loved ones to attend day programs
or recreational activities.

F206 shared her thoughts about the best state to move to for services for
her son:

> If we don't get funding, we really won't have much of a choice, but my husband
> is a teacher, and we can't really move until he retires. . . . Like I said though,
> we don't know that it's actually going to happen, and I'll believe it when
> we get the money. . . . We've talked about moving to [neighboring states]. . . .
> Arizona is supposed to be number one, but that's really far.

Caregivers reported learning subjectively about services in different
states through parent networks. As we learned with R322, caregivers some-
times felt that they never could be certain whether an adult with FXS would
be eligible for programs and funding. When a family moves, it may start the
process again at the bottom of the waiting list.

Caregivers in middle adulthood are often responsible for elderly parents
in addition to their adult children with FXS. Ten respondents reported
caring for a disabled spouse or parent. R319 not only had to care for both her
parents and adult child but also worked full-time and was worried about
her ability to retire:

> I'm 6 years away from retirement. I'm not able to retire yet. I'm also sand-
> wiched between being probably the sole decision maker with my elderly
> parents' care, and that's coming. My mother is 80, and my dad is 81, and he's
> failing very fast.

As adults with FXS and their caregivers transitioned together toward mid-
dle adulthood, caregivers perceived that resources were particularly

constrained throughout the social service system. These challenges seemed to amplify many other existing problems for individuals living with FXS, their caregivers, and their families. Respondents also described how social services came with their own bureaucratic complexity, including different configurations of program and funding eligibility and availability, which imposed practical barriers for many families.

The Third Transition: Long-Term-Care Planning

In addition to their many day-to-day living concerns, many caregivers identified long-term planning as their biggest concern and worry. As R308 said, "My biggest fear is, where is he going to go when we pass on?" The respondents described that long-term planning entailed finding a person to provide day-to-day care, a place to live, a person to coordinate care and services, a legal guardian, and a financial plan. Caregivers unanimously reported struggling with the bureaucratic complexity of finding and financing appropriate long-term services and supports, including developmentally appropriate day programs, respite care, group home or independent living services, and therapeutic resources.

R305 expressed her accompanying anxieties when she contemplated the loss her son would someday face:

> I don't want him to lose everything all at once. I don't want him to go from living at home with a parent to all of a sudden somebody has got to place him somewhere else, somebody has to find support for him, somebody has to create his day, what he's going to do in the community.

Four caregivers reported that our study interview itself was the first time they seriously contemplated long-term planning. Caregivers were generally so busy with the day-to-day that they did not feel they had time to contemplate a future that seemed years away. For example, R304 said:

> When [my son living with FXS] was younger, I thought, yeah, I was 30, 35— that's a good age if they have to start living on their own and moving in there. Well, golly geez, that's 4–9 years away. It's time to get moving.

Many caregivers indicated that they worried about the future but had not engaged in any formalized planning for it. R311 conveyed her concern about not having a plan:

If you were to ask me what my biggest concern is, my biggest concern is that we have a plan in place for that day or that event that causes us to be unable to care for him. The problem . . . That we don't have a plan. We should be working on a plan.

We specifically asked caregivers whether they had a plan in place in the event that they become unable to care for their loved one (due to caregiver aging, disability, or death). While all 39 caregivers were concerned about these issues, the specific questions evoked diverse reactions. Respondents discussed three main domains of care planning: caregiving/housing, legal, and financial. Five caregivers reported having no plan whatsoever for any domain. The remaining 34 caregivers had different ideas and partial plans (defined as concrete and nonconcrete plans) about the future in one or two domains. Table 3 provides a description of the types of plans for the three domains of care planning as reported by caregivers on the web-based survey or in the in-person interview, including the general definition of a concrete plan, nonconcrete plan, and no plan for each domain. Out of 39 respondents, only 10 articulated a full, concrete plan for all three domains.

In the caregiving/housing domain, 15 caregivers are coded as having concrete plans. These caregivers' loved ones with FXS were either already

TABLE 3. Future Caregiving Plan

Domain and Plan Type	Number of Caregivers	Definition of Plan Type
Caregiving/housing:		
Concrete plan	15	Already living in group home or independent living, plan to live with sibling or family member
Non–concrete plan	14	Desire to live in a group home or independent living, informal plans to live with sibling/family
No plan	10	Stay in current arrangement, wait for a crisis
Legal:		
Concrete plan	18	Back-up caregiver named and/or appointed guardianship/conservatorship; own guardianship
Nonconcrete plan	12	Back-up caregiver named to be guardian, but no formal plans have been put into place
No plan	9	Become a ward of the state, legal paperwork as a goal for the future
Financial:		
Concrete plan	20	Already set up special needs trusts, wills, life insurance beneficiary, executive trustee appointed
Nonconcrete plan	7	Desire or plan to set up special needs trust
No plan	12	No financial plan

living in group homes or independent living or had formalized family plans to live with siblings or family members. Fourteen caregivers were coded as having nonconcrete plans, meaning that they had a desire for their loved ones to live in group homes or independent living or had informal plans for their loved ones to live with siblings or family members.

R305 defined her goal for her son's independent living:

> My goal is 3 years from now is that I would have him set up somewhere living independently, whether he had a roommate. Our agency actually has a program in which you can pick out roommates. They will help you try to find a match not only on personalities but where you want them to live and what type of living situation.

The remaining 10 caregivers were coded as having no caregiving or housing plan, meaning that the adult with FXS would stay in the current arrangement until a crisis occurs. R328 seemed sure that her two brothers with FXS would be taken care of by the system if something should happen to her. "I know that everybody will be placed," she said.

In the legal domain, 18 caregivers were coded as having a concrete plan in place. Nine named a back-up to be appointed guardian or conservator, and nine adults with FXS were their own guardians. Twelve caregivers were coded as having nonconcrete plans, meaning that a back-up caregiver was named to be guardian, but no formal plans had been put into place. R314 described this type of nonconcrete plan in her family:

> Right now I think that if something happened tomorrow, my parents are still alive. I've got sisters and a brother. My husband has a sister, and we have close friends. They all understand [daughter living with FXS]'s situation. I think someone would step up. I would hope that my son as he got older would take on the responsibility himself.

Nine caregivers were coded as having no legal plan. They either had a goal put off for the future or expected the person to become a ward of the state. R303 seemed secure that she did not need a plan, saying, "I feel comfortable enough that my family will step in" to take care and legal guardianship of her two adult children with FXS.

Twenty caregivers were coded as having concrete plans set up in the financial domain. They had established special needs trusts, had wills, named

life insurance beneficiaries, and appointed executive trustees. Seven care-givers were coded as having nonconcrete plans, meaning that they desired financial plans and wanted to set up special needs trusts. Twelve caregivers were coded as having no financial plan in place.

Caregivers shared many innovative ideas for long-term planning, though some of these ideas had not been fully thought out or formally organized. Four caregivers were already relying on other family members and friends to take care of the adult with FXS in their homes, and therefore were able to receive state funding. Five others had creative ideas to create a customized residential treatment for their loved ones with FXS instead of trying to find a placement in an already existing program with a long waiting list. R312 described her idea:

> The plan that we've got in our heads right now is that we're trying to redesign our house to where it will accommodate [their son living with FXS] and caregivers. We're planning on getting a nonprofit that will then buy the house, so that [he] won't have to worry about losing it. He'll pay rent to stay there. We'll have caregivers come in and stay with him. He will always have the house, he will have the caregivers. Once that gets set up, which we're hoping is going to be within the next 5 years. . . . We're planning on needing probably four or five caregivers that will come in and be with him. At that point, [husband] and I can move out to our own space, hopefully.

Caregivers were also concerned that day and vocational programs were not challenging adults with FXS to reach their full potential. Some worked together with other caregivers and community nonprofit organizations to create innovative services to meet the needs of adults with FXS. R308 spoke about the job she was able to create for her son:

> We were never really able to find a job for him, although I do believe he's employable. I got involved with a nonprofit, and we did a tremendous amount of fundraising and last year opened up a nonprofit thrift store to hire people with disabilities. . . . We now have 19 part-time employees, all individuals with autism or other intellectual developmental disabilities, and [son living with FXS] is one of them. He works in a store. The people who run the store are wonderful. They're very . . . have a lot of experience in working with indi-viduals with disabilities, and they just are terrific. He loves to work with them so that has . . . been great.

The scarcity of resources—funding, housing, and employment opportunities—compelled families to think unconventionally and to pool resources with other families to create personalized long-term plans.

The Choice Architecture of Transition Planning

The above barriers pose considerable obstacles to caregivers' abilities to formulate and follow effective transition planning that may occur several times over the life course. In combination, these barriers became especially challenging for caregivers in this study because they heightened decisional burdens and complicated the already difficult choice architecture confronting families.

Caregivers face simultaneous, ongoing demands that arise from the symptomatology of FXS, their family context, and the bureaucratic constraints and complexities of social assistance systems. Many caregivers continually needed many types of support—financial, informational, instrumental, and emotional. Given the constant need to address immediate life concerns, caregivers presented as overly optimistic or in denial (or simply overwhelmed) regarding long-term issues they had yet to effectively confront. Thus, F103 declared: "Our motto is to live 1 day longer than our kid. That's our motto, and we are not afraid to say it. We have to live one day longer."

Relentless caregiving demands had an especially strong influence on our study population through tunneling, whereby caregivers became so consumed by immediate pressing issues that they could not effectively focus on or make plans regarding other important long-term concerns. Caregivers focused their scarce resources and what behavioral economists call bandwidth on the most urgent matters. Caring for an individual living with FXS is relentless and intense on many different fronts (the time and physical energy required, loneliness, emotional intensity, frustration with bureaucratic complexity), to the point that caregivers are vulnerable to falling into a present-minded orientation rooted in immediate day-to-day needs. Respondent R311 put it this way: "I didn't think about these things before we found ourselves in this situation. . . . We're still just walking along with a bit of blinders." This same respondent became even more succinct as she continued to describe her circumstances: "We don't have a plan. We should be working on a plan."

The lack of formal milestones and deadlines poses another, quieter challenge similar to those facing workers who undersave for retirement. Despite

awareness about the need for long-term transition planning, immediate obligations make it easy for hard-pressed caregivers to delay painful decisions and conversations, or to fall prey to what behavioral economists term *the planning fallacy*. For example, R314 commented: "You're clarifying in my mind that Holy Moly, we don't have anything in place, do we? We have to make haste." R318 described her situation in similar terms: "We haven't thought too much about it [long-term planning] because we think that it's a lot longer down the road than it is."

Service rationing heightens these decisional challenges. Crisis-based allocation of scarce services such as residential placements diminishes the effectiveness of long-term planning and may reduce the immediate incentive to engage in such planning at all, since families not deemed to be experiencing a crisis are given low priority for whatever specific placements or services become available. Then, if a crisis does arise, caregivers are necessarily focused on the most immediate and pressing aspect of the current problem. In an emergency, caregivers are likely to grasp the first feasible option because at that moment they lack the options, information, and time to be choosy or to perform an extensive search. F203 said: "If a parent is having a health problem, like I've had health problems, that can go to crisis. My son just got [moved to the top of the waiting list] last week, and he's going into a CILA [Community Independent Living Arrangement] in 2 months, going to—." Services do become more accessible to adults with disabilities when caregivers are in crisis. Yet, crisis-allocated services may prove to be a poor fit, as caregivers and social service professionals seek to identify available service opportunities with less opportunity to focus on quality or long-term needs.

Once a family becomes connected with a particular provider, it is difficult and intimidating to make subsequent moves. Caregiver behavioral inertia and risk aversion combine with the inertia of public bureaucracy to favor the status quo, even if caregivers are unhappy with the accompanying services. People generally have a strong desire to hold onto what they already have, even if it is of poor quality or otherwise fails to meet their needs. R311 reported his decision to be "stuck" caring for his son at home: "I'm a little concerned as we get older and older and older. I don't have the final answers. I only know how it works for us, and we've made that decision to care for him as long as we can. Right now, it's a decision that I would say we're stuck with."

Caregivers may choose the regular route to services, which entails waiting lists (often for many years in the case of nonemergency services), poor or inappropriate services, or services that will be ultimately be unavailable. Forbidding paperwork and waiting for a possible service provide little incentive for caregivers to seek out long-term caregiving plans through the state system. As F202 said: "I'm on [state waiting list], and my oldest has been on [the list] forever, but my youngest was on it for maybe a couple years, he got pulled. He now has funding for a CILA."

In some cases, the regular route to service eligibility, funding, and placement includes legal advocacy and due process. For R301, due process took 5 years:

> Just dealing with all the systems, and . . . from [child and family services] to SSI, to [a special needs] association, to [a special recreation association]. . . . We used to send him to the special rec program, and the whole issue with the due process and trying to ship him away so that they wouldn't have to deal with him, it was . . . there's a lot of things that . . . I'm just glad we had enough stamina and strength to go through, because it was 5 years of due process. . . . We were down at the federal building; it was getting stupid, and finally the federal judge said to the school district, "You need to do something here for these people and this child, and not send him away somewhere." That's why they started sending the lady to our house.

Crisis-based resource allocation has another paradoxical consequence. It rewards families who can most convincingly present an administrative narrative of crisis. More advantaged parents often have access to resources to help them present more compelling claims than less advantaged parents are able to present when confronted with similar barriers. Advantaged families can hire professionals who have experience navigating arcane program rules, preparing accurate and persuasive paperwork, and otherwise strategically engaging a complex bureaucratic process. Advantaged parents are also more likely to send their children to higher-quality schools that may offer superior services that include components to assist with adult planning.

Many caregivers used strategic engagement of social assistance systems to receive needed services or funding. In one focus group, F208 advised another caregiver on the importance of "learning how to be in crisis. . . . You

need to have the worst crisis day you've ever had in your own mind and be crisis. Someone told me how to be crisis, and I was in a crisis." F208 was perhaps our most affluent respondent, who drew upon services of the highest-rated school district in her metropolitan area and employed social work consultants to optimize her loved one's care and to optimize her ability to obtain publicly funded services.

R318 chose to relinquish guardianship of her son in order to get funding to care for him at home. She explains, "My husband's a guardian. . . . Well we did it with him because we were told that it's better to do it that way because then if I wanted to be his personal attendant . . ." If the mother was named legal guardian along with the father, she would not be able to receive particular funding to pay for caregiving within the home.

The mechanics of everyday life also assist more advantaged parents with several tasks required for effective transition planning. Affluent respondents were much more likely to establish special needs trusts and to have wills and related legal documents. The mechanics of such arrangements lead more affluent parents to confront practical issues of guardianship and transition planning. Caregivers with limited income and no substantial financial assets are less likely to interact with accountants, lawyers, or financial professionals who may be of further assistance in addressing long-run caregiver concerns.

DISCUSSION

Respondent narratives offer a window into the everyday realities of caregiving for adults with IDD. We document how individuals living with FXS and their caregivers faced multiple and varied transitions over the entire life course, some that were planned and some that arose unexpectedly or occurred because of a family crisis. Because the lives of adults with FXS are so closely linked to those of their caregivers, families face several related barriers to properly anticipating, planning for, and managing these transitions.

One important set of barriers arises from the specific nature of FXS itself, its associated comorbidities, and its implications for the broader family constellation of this genetic disorder. Other disorders would present differently for individuals living with IDD and their caregivers. For example, individuals with Down syndrome typically present with less profound behavioral symptoms, yet they face much higher risks of dementia after age 40. Notwithstanding the particularities of FXS, many of the experiences

reported by our respondents are likely to reflect general challenges faced by caregivers of adults with various types of IDDs.

A second set of barriers arises from families' specific contexts, such as available income and the needs of other family members. We document a variety of disparities, including those that arise within social services themselves as more affluent and educated parents are positioned to present more persuasive need-based claims for scarce available services.

A third set of barriers arises from the overall scarcity (and sometimes low quality) of available services. This scarcity fundamentally altered the well-being of caregivers and the individuals they cared for and the caregiving strategies pursued by most families in our sample.

A fourth set of barriers arises from the sheer, perhaps inherent bureaucratic complexity of service systems. This complexity is worsened by resulting rationing mechanisms and waiting lists (Beatty 2013), which create unintended incentives and disparities within nominally need-based social service systems. Bureaucratic complexity rewards caregivers such as the aforementioned F208 who, for perhaps arbitrary reasons, are well positioned to interact with state assistance programs.

These interrelated barriers pose considerable challenges to individuals with FXS, their caregivers, and social service systems. Respondents indicated many ways in which these barriers hindered their loved ones' transitions out of the family home and into residential placement, as well as hindered their loved ones' effective transitions from one service to another. Policy makers must be cognizant of these barriers in order to design effective interventions.

These barriers are also challenging in their combined influence on the choice architecture that confronts caregivers, often over decades. Although families are aware of their need to start long-term transition planning, the lack of specific deadlines and milestones makes it easy for hard-pressed caregivers to delay painful decisions and conversations or to fall prey to the planning fallacy.

Our qualitative interviews do not directly provide a basis for granular evaluation of specific policies. Rather, caregivers' lived experience, as described in our qualitative interviews and focus groups, provides a valuable basis to understand how caregivers seek to address the multiple challenges they confront and identifies unmet perceived needs that policy makers might address. Respondents also identified key challenges that they (and thus policy makers) confront in making the best use of the opportunities

and supports made available to them. These insights provide a valuable lens through which to consider current policy discussions regarding incremental improvement to existing helping systems and to examine the promise and likely limitations of some proposed innovations.

A life course perspective suggests one mundane but powerful insight that should animate many interventions: individuals with IDD and their caregivers will experience many transitions at different points in their adult lives that may require accommodation in residential care, employment, personal care, and family support services. Survey respondents reported receiving the most structured and effective supports when their loved-ones were adolescents or young adults. Yet, many young adults with FXS were unprepared to leave the family home or to make a permanent transition into either a work or residential placement. Others tried an initial approach that needed to be modified. Some services proved less effective than originally hoped. In other cases, the individual with FXS, the caregiver, or other family members encountered logistical or health difficulties. Whatever the nature or cause, these transitions became much more difficult as adults' service entitlements attenuated once they exceeded school age.

Many services and supports that individuals with FXS and their families had previously used were no longer readily available once these individuals crossed the disability cliff when they were in their early or mid-twenties (Bagenstos 2015). Declining access and declining service quality in the transition from school-based to adult service systems were noted by many respondents (such as the aforementioned R303 and R304), whose loved-ones required adult vocational services tailored to their specific needs.

This handoff can be eased through improved implementation. Integrating the provider network of IDEA-based services with the network that provides adult disability services is one valuable strategy to smooth this transition (Certo et al. 2008). Addressing the specific transition to young adulthood is important in its own right. The disability cliff also exemplifies, in extreme form, the misalignment between the actual transition experienced by people with FXS and the transition social service systems bureaucratically presume people must be experiencing.

These challenges proved especially difficult for caregivers who were on the cusp of retirement and who faced significant life challenges and transitions long after their adult children had exceeded school age. Granting greater (nonemergency) service priority to older caregivers might improve

caregiver transitions and planning among caregivers older than 65 who face the greatest health risks and who must often transition their caregiving responsibilities and activities to adult children or to others (Freedman et al. 1997; Certo et al. 2008; Kowal 2015).

Several respondents were considering moving across state lines to retire close to other family members, to change jobs, or simply to live in a warmer climate. The need to maintain Medicaid eligibility was a correspondingly common obstacle to geographic mobility. Improved Medicaid reciprocity and portability across state lines would provide an especially important support to family caregivers such as the aforementioned R322, whose family or employment circumstances necessitate movement across state lines.

Another basic but powerful insight is that long waitlists and other rationing mechanisms inherently distort family decision making and discourage long-term planning. Instead of promoting self-efficacy, these mechanisms seem to frustrate caregivers, increase their distrust in the system, and deplete their sense of agency. As noted, bureaucratic complexity and uneven enforcement or implementation also seemed to create unanticipated barriers and disincentives for many families, while rewarding others who were best-positioned to interact strategically with complex systems.

Such rationing mechanisms are most common in Medicaid home- and community-based services, which provided key forms of help for most survey respondents. State Medicaid policies can be implemented to either aggravate or to ameliorate rationing of key services. The Affordable Care Act includes many provisions and expanded incentives for states to provide Medicaid-financed community supports without waitlists or with shorter wait times (Reinhard, Kassner, and Houser 2011). States have hesitated to fully embrace these provisions (Caldwell 2010; Reinhard, Kassner, and Houser 2011; Factor et al. 2012; Beatty 2013). Respondents such as the aforementioned R325, who described how she would have to drive 45 or 50 minutes to access services, reported that service gaps in southern rural states would be the most obvious beneficiaries of such policy innovations. Many other respondents, such as the aforementioned R308, who described how some people receive more services than they know what to do with while others languish on waitlists, lived in states or localities with long waitlists for basic services.

Additional resources are also required to reduce the rationing of adult disability services. Many respondents in our sample required services that

are routinely provided to school-age individuals living with FXS but are frequently unavailable, rationed, or otherwise constrained within adult vocational systems.

Researchers and advocates have suggested several strategies to strengthen adult service systems and to make these systems more consistent with what is typically provided at younger ages. Amending IDEA to expand adult entitlements offers one possible approach (Certo et al. 2008). Expanding the reach of ADA litigation beyond the domain of residential services offers another, particularly in the domain of HCBS waiver services that currently carry such long waiting lists, and in the domain of employment services that facilitate participation in the general economy (Beatty 2013; Bagenstos 2015).

Greater opportunities for individuals with FXS to earn competitive market wages might also improve their long-term opportunities for independent living. Increased earnings would also provide immediate resources to meet individual and family needs (Ne'eman 2016), for example, by helping to finance alternative living arrangements, recreational opportunities, and modest respite care.

Other policies might improve the choice architecture that families confront. Many families face too few choices. At the same times, social assistance systems render it more difficult for families to make best use of the choices they do face. Existing interventions make these choices more burdensome with poorer choice architectures than could be implemented. As indicated by R311's simple comment, "We should be working on a plan," some caregivers found the prospect of long-term planning so daunting that they had barely started it prior to our interview.

Strengthening periodic reporting requirements associated with guardianship and representative payee status might help guardians and caregivers manage behavioral inertia that hinders long-term planning. If guardians and caregivers faced specific deadlines (say every 5 years) to report caregiver transition plans and planning obstacles, their loved ones may be more likely to have a plan in place before it is needed.

The ABLE Act is the most prominent recent policy innovation that seeks to help families engage in long-term saving and planning. It frees families from tight asset limits (President's Committee for People with Intellectual Disabilities 2006). By reducing the complexity of financial planning, it also reduces incentives for furtive or otherwise unwise Medicaid asset-shielding practices. Yet, as currently constructed, the ABLE Act replicates the opt-in

structure of traditional retirement and college savings accounts. These types of accounts are most advantageous and familiar to more affluent respondents, such as R311 and F208 who paid for respite care and other services privately. These types of caregivers may already employ similar accounts for retirement and college savings and may interact with financial professionals or advocacy groups that can explain the opportunity, and who have available resources to contribute to such accounts.

Opt-in defined contribution structures are likely to receive limited use among less affluent caregivers. Judging by the track record of opt-in defined contribution savings vehicles, many families will never open such an account, and they may not realize that this option is even available (Benartzi and Thaler 2013). The ABLE Act modifies the section of the Internal Revenue Code that established 529 college savings accounts. In 2010, median household income of 529 account holders was $142,000, underscoring the concentration of these accounts among high-income families (GAO 2012).

A different, opt-out structure would likely serve many more families that are in greatest need. For example, the federal government might automatically open ABLE accounts for every eligible individual with a qualifying disability who receives benefits under Social Security, Medicaid, or associated disability services. This mechanism would draw upon recent experience with individual development accounts that attract bipartisan interest in poverty reduction policy (President's Committee for People with Intellectual Disabilities 2006). Under this automatic structure, families would be free to contribute (or not) to an administratively convenient and economical account that is already compliant with pertinent IRS regulations.

Whatever or not families contribute, the federal government could provide a modest monthly deposit, prudently invested in long-term assets as designated by the Secretary of the Treasury. This government contribution could not be withdrawn until the individual reaches the age of majority, since its purpose is to support adult services. Regular monthly contributions of $25 earning even 2 percent interest beginning at a child's birth would accumulate to almost $10,000 25 years later. These funds could provide a real reserve in case of emergency. With proper supports and counseling, the mere existence of such an account might become a convenient vehicle for planning and saving for many families whose financial efforts might otherwise be thwarted by mundane financial and logistical hurdles.

Other measures might also help caregivers navigate complex bureaucratic systems and proactively address sensitive family issues. One possible

innovation would be to create a Medicaid procedure code for specified legal consultative and care coordination services related to transition planning. Covered services might include the preparation of basic will and guardianship documents and consultation regarding transitional issues pertinent to caregivers over age 60.

No single policy or intervention would address the wide range of challenges outlined in this article. More generous, more carefully implemented adult IDD services could assist individuals with disabilities and their caregivers. Improved design features of IDD services and their associated choice architectures can help, too. Millions of Americans in less-pressing circumstances struggle with basic financial planning, such as credit card debt and retirement savings. It is hardly surprising that individuals with IDD and their caregivers face even more daunting planning challenges over the many decades of their adult lives.

LIMITATIONS

This qualitative study, which primarily utilized an in-depth, open-ended interview process, enabled caregivers to share their perspectives and concerns about caring for an adult with FXS in a descriptive and nuanced way. Our findings must be evaluated in light of several limitations. Our sample size of 39 appeared to yield data saturation for qualitative, thematic, and open coding to generate thematic trends and narrative stories of caregiving concerns and long-term planning. However, our caregiver respondents, recruited from a FXS clinic at a major hospital, a parent listserv, and a Facebook group, are unlikely to be fully representative of the universe of FXS caregivers. We likely oversampled caregivers who had access to the Internet, who had navigation skills to use it for social support, and who volunteered for the survey. Our resulting overrepresentation of non-Hispanic whites illustrates one consequence of this methodology. While these two layers of response bias are present and likely produce a more advantaged sample, our specific sampling strategy successfully recruited caregivers who experienced many challenges that are likely to be experienced (perhaps more strongly) by the broader population of FXS caregivers.

Recall bias also presents additional concerns. Only caregivers were interviewed, and they offered their subjective perceptions. We did not interview individuals with FXS themselves, who might offer different perspectives. Twenty-five of the 39 respondents self-identified as full-mutation, mosaic,

or premutation carriers. These genetic traits may have contributed to an altered self-conception about the syndrome.

CONCLUSION

This qualitative study examines the life course challenges experienced by 39 respondents who care for adults living with Fragile X syndrome (FXS). We focus on three particular adult transitions: the transition from adolescence to young adulthood; the transition to middle adulthood; and the transition to later adulthood, when caregivers may no longer be able to care for their loved ones with FXS. We document the difficulties posed by the distinctive nature and symptomology of FXS itself, by service scarcities, and by the individual needs and changing lives of caregivers and other family members. We also show how the bureaucratic complexity of the social service system poses its own distinctive challenge. Applying the lenses of life course theory and behavioral economics, we suggest policy innovations that might assist individuals with FXS and similar disabilities, as well as their caregivers. Living with a significant intellectual or developmental disability poses daunting challenges and burdens. So does family caregiving, which is undertaken over many years, indeed several decades, of people's adult lives. Improved policies and interventions will not address every challenge or relieve every burden. These can, nonetheless, greatly improve many lives.

NOTE

Rebecca Feinstein (rebecca.feinstein@mail.hyji.co.il), the corresponding author, is a lecturer at the Paul Baerwald School of Social Work and Social Welfare at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. She researches health care disparities and health care service systems for children and families in the United States and in Israel.

Harold Pollack (haroldp@uchicago.edu) is the Helen Ross Professor of Social Service Administration at the University of Chicago. He is the codirector of the University of Chicago Crime Lab and an affiliate professor in the Biological Sciences Collegiate Division and the Department of Public Health Sciences.

REFERENCES

Abbeduto, Leonard, Marsha Mailick Seltzer, Paul Shattuck, Marty Wyngaarden Krauss, Gael Orsmond, and Melissa M. Murphy. 2004. "Psychological Well-Being and Coping in Mothers of Youths with Autism, Down Syndrome, or Fragile X Syndrome." *American Journal on Mental Retardation* 109 (3): 237–54.

Anderson, Lynda L., Sheryl A. Larson, and Allise Wuorio. 2011. "2010 FINDS National Survey Technical Report Part 1: Family Caregiver Survey." University of Minnesota, Research and Training Center on Community Living, Minneapolis, MN. http://www.thearc.org.

Bagenstos, Samuel R. 2015. "The Disability Cliff." *Democracy* 35:55–67.

Bailey, Donald B., Melissa Raspa, Ellen Bishop, and David Holiday. 2009. "No Change in the Age of Diagnosis for Fragile X Syndrome: Findings from a National Parent Survey." *Pediatrics* 124 (2): 527–33.

Bailey, Donald B., Melissa Raspa, Ellen Bishop, Debanjali Mitra, Susan Martin, Anne Wheeler, and Pat Sacco. 2012. "Health and Economic Consequences of Fragile X Syndrome for Caregivers." *Journal of Developmental and Behavioral Pediatrics* 33 (9): 705–12.

Bailey, Donald B., Anne Wheeler, Elizabeth Berry-Kravis, Randi Hagerman, Flora Tassone, Cynthia M. Powell, Myra Roche, Louise W. Gane, and John Sideris. 2015. "Maternal Consequences of the Detection of Fragile X Carriers in Newborn Screening." *Pediatrics* 136 (2): e433–40.

Beatty, Carol. 2013. "Implementing Olmstead by Outlawing Waiting Lists." *Tulsa Law Review* 49:713–48.

Benartzi, Shlomo, and Richard H. Thaler. 2013. "Behavioral Economics and the Retirement Savings Crisis." *Science* 339:1152–53.

Bittles, Alan H., Bev A. Petterson, Sheena G. Sullivan, Rafat Hussain, Emma J. Glasson, and Philip D. Montgomery. 2002. "The Influence of Intellectual Disability on Life Expectancy." *Journals of Gerontology Series A: Biological Sciences and Medical Sciences* 57 (7): M470–72.

Bourgeois, James A., Andreea L. Seritan, E. Melina Casillas, David Hessl, Andrea Schneider, Ying Yang, Inderjeet Kaur, Jennifer B. Cogswell, Danh V. Nguyen, and Randi J. Hagerman. 2011. "Lifetime Prevalence of Mood and Anxiety Disorders in Fragile X Premutation Carriers." *Journal of Clinical Psychiatry* 72 (2): 175–82.

Boyatzis, Richard E. 1998. *Transforming Qualitative Information: Thematic Analysis and Code Development*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Braddock, David, Richard Hemp, Mary C. Rizzolo, Emily S. Tanis, Laura Haffer, and Jiang Wu. 2015. *The State of the States in Intellectual and Developmental Disabilities: Emerging from the Great Recession*. Washington, DC: American Association on Intellectual and Developmental Disabilities.

Caldwell, Joe. 2010. "Implications of Health Care Reform for Individuals with Disabilities." *Intellectual and Developmental Disabilities* 48 (3): 216–19.

Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services. 2016. "Home and Community-Based Services 1915 (c)." Centers for Medicaid and Medicare Services, Baltimore. https://www.medicaid.gov/medicaid-chip-program-information/by-topics/long-term-services-and-supports/home-and-community-based-services/home-and-community-based-services-1915-c.html.

Certo, Nicholas J., Richard G. Luecking, Sara Murphy, Lou Brown, Susan Courey, and Denise Belanger. 2008. "Seamless Transition and Long-Term Support for Individuals with Severe Intellectual Disabilities." *Research and Practice for Persons with Severe Disabilities* 33 (3): 85–95.

Coppus, A.M.W. 2013. "People with Intellectual Disability: What Do We Know about Adulthood and Life Expectancy?" *Developmental Disabilities Research Reviews* 18 (1): 6–16.

de Vries, B. B., A. M. Wiegers, A. P. Smits, S. Mohkamsing, H. J. Duivenvoorden, J. P. Fryns, L. M. Curfs, D. J. Halley, B. A. Oostra, A. M. van den Ouweland, and M. F. Niermeijer. 1996. "Mental Status of Females with an FMR1 Gene Full Mutation." *American Journal of Human Genetics* 58 (5): 1025–32.

Eiken, Steve, Kate Sredl, Burwell Brian, and Paul Saucier. 2015. "Medicaid Expenditures for Long-Term Services and Supports (LTSS) in FY 2013." Report in "Home and Community-Based Services Were a Majority of LTSS Spending," Truven Health Analytics, Chicago.

Elder, Glen H. 1994. "Time, Human Agency, and Social Change: Perspectives on the Life Course." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 57 (1): 4–15.

———. 1995. "The Life Course Paradigm: Social Change and Individual Development." 101–39 in *Examining Lives in Context: Perspectives on the Ecology of Human Development*, edited by P. Moen, Glen H. Elder, and K. E. Lüscher. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

———. 1999. *Children of the Great Depression*. Boulder, CO: Westview.

Elder, Glen H., and M. J. Shanahan. 2006. "The Life Course and Human Development." 665–715 in *Handbook of Child Psychology*, Vol. 1, *Theoretical Models of Human Development*, edited by W. Damon and R. M. Lerner. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.

Elo, Satu, and Helvi Kyngäs. 2008. "The Qualitative Content Analysis Process." *Journal of Advanced Nursing* 62 (1): 107–15.

Factor, Alan, Tamar Heller, and Matthew Janicki. 2012. "Bridging the Aging and Developmental Disabilities Service Networks: Challenges and Best Practices." Research report, Institute on Disability and Human Development, University of Illinois at Chicago.

Fereday, Jennifer, and Eimear Muir-Cochrane. 2006. "Demonstrating Rigor Using Thematic Analysis: A Hybrid Approach of Inductive and Deductive Coding and Theme Development." *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 5 (1): 80–92.

Freedman, Ruth I., Marty Wyngaarden Krauss, and Marsha Mailick Seltzer. 1997. "Aging Parents' Residential Plans for Adult Children with Mental Retardation." *Mental Retardation* 35 (2): 114–23.

GAO (US Government Accountability Office). 2012. "A Small Percentage of Families Save in 529 Plans." Report to the Chairman, Committee on Finance, US Senate, from US Government Accountability Office, Washington, DC. http://www.gao.gov/assets/660/650759.pdf.

Glasson, Emma, and Alan H. Bittles. 2008. "The Impact of Ageing in People with Intellectual and Developmental Disability." 27–43 in *Ageing Related Problems in Past and Present Populations*, edited by Eva B. Bodzsár and Charles Susanne. Budapest, Hungary: Plantin. http://researchrepository.murdoch.edu.au/11044/.

Greenberg, Jan S., Marsha Mailick Seltzer, and James R. Greenley. 1993. "Aging Parents of Adults with Disabilities: The Gratifications and Frustrations of Later-Life Caregiving." *Gerontologist* 33 (4): 542–50.

Hagerman, Randi Jenssen, and Paul J. Hagerman. 2002. *Fragile X Syndrome: Diagnosis, Treatment, and Research*. New York: Taylor & Francis.

Hartley, Sigan L, Marsha Mailick Seltzer, Melissa Raspa, Murrey Olmstead, Ellen Bishop, and Bailey. 2011. "Exploring the Adult Life of Men and Women with Fragile X Syndrome: Results from a National Survey." *American Journal on Intellectual and Developmental Disabilities* 116 (1): 16–35.

Hastings, Richard P., and Tony Brown. 2002. "Behavior Problems of Children with Autism, Parental Self-Efficacy, and Mental Health." *American Journal on Mental Retardation* 107 (3): 222–32.

Heller, Tamar. 1993. "Self-Efficacy Coping, Active Involvement, and Caregiver Well-Being throughout the Life Course among Families of Persons with Mental Retardation." 195–206 in *Cognitive Coping, Families, and Disability*, edited by Ann P. Turnbull, Joan M. Patterson, Shirley K. Behr, Douglas L. Murphy, Janet G. Marquis, and Martha J. Blue-Banning. Baltimore: Brookes.

Hersh, Joseph H., Robert A. Saul, and Committee on Genetics. 2011. "Health Supervision for Children with Fragile X Syndrome." *Pediatrics* 127 (5): 994–1006.

Hsieh, Hsiu-Fang, and Sarah E. Shannon. 2005. "Three Approaches to Qualitative Content Analysis." *Qualitative Health Research* 15 (9): 1277–88.

Kemper, Alex R., and Donald B. Bailey. 2009. "Pediatricians' Knowledge of and Attitudes toward Fragile X Syndrome Screening." *Academic Pediatrics* 9 (2): 114–17.

Kidd, Sharon A., Ave Lachiewicz, Deborah Barbouth, Robin K. Blitz, Carol Delahunty, Dianne McBrien, Jeannie Visootsak, and Elizabeth Berry-Kravis. 2014. "Fragile X Syndrome: A Review of Associated Medical Problems." *Pediatrics* 134 (5): 995–1005.

Kogan, Cary S., Jeremy Turk, Randi J. Hagerman, and Kim M. Cornish. 2008. "Impact of the Fragile X Mental Retardation 1 (FMR1) Gene Premutation on Neuropsychiatric Functioning in Adult Males without Fragile X-Associated Tremor/Ataxia Syndrome: A Controlled Study." *American Journal of Medical Genetics. Part B, Neuropsychiatric Genetics: The Official Publication of the International Society of Psychiatric Genetics* 147B (6): 859–72.

Kowal, Emily. 2015. "Caring as We Age: Familial Relationships of Adults with Intellectual Development Disabilities." Thesis, the Ohio State University, Columbus, OH. http://hdl.handle.net/1811/68937.

Larson, Sheryl, Patricia Salmi, Drew Smith, Lydia Anderson, and Amy Hewitt. 2013. "Table 2.5 in Residential Services for Persons with Intellectual and Developmental Disabilities: Status and Trends through Fiscal Year 2011." University of Minnesota. http://rtc.umn.edu/risp/docs/risp2011.pdf.

Lewis, P., L. Abbeduto, M. Murphy, E. Richmond, N. Giles, L. Bruno, and S. Schroeder. 2006. "Cognitive, Language, and Social-Cognitive Skills of Individuals with Fragile X Syndrome with and without Autism." *Journal of Intellectual Disability Research* 50 (7): 532–45.

Lozano, Reymundo, Carolina Alba Rosero, and Randi J. Hagerman. 2014. "Fragile X Spectrum Disorders." *Intractable and Rare Diseases Research* 3 (4): 134–46.

Luecking, Richard G., and David Wittenburg. 2009. "Providing Supports to Youth with Disabilities Transitioning to Adulthood: Case Descriptions from the Youth Transition Demonstration." *Journal of Vocational Rehabilitation* 30 (3): 241–51.

Mansell, Jim, and Kent Ericsson. 2013. *Deinstitutionalization and Community Living: Intellectual Disability Services in Britain, Scandinavia and the USA*. Berlin: Springer.

McDonough, Jennifer T., and Grant Revell. 2010. "Accessing Employment Supports in the Adult System for Transitioning Youth with Autism Spectrum Disorders." *Journal of Vocational Rehabilitation* 32:89–100.

McGoldrick, Monica, Elizabeth A. Carter, and Nydia Garcia-Preto. 2011. *The Expanded Family Life Cycle: Individual, Family, and Social Perspectives*. Boston: Pearson Allyn & Bacon.

McIntyre, Laura L., Jan Blacher, and Bruce L. Baker. 2002. "Behaviour/Mental Health Problems in Young Adults with Intellectual Disability: The Impact on Families." *Journal of Intellectual Disability Research* 46 (3): 239–49.

Mullainathan, Sendhil, and Eldar Shafir. 2014. *Scarcity: The New Science of Having Less and How It Defines Our Lives*. 1st ed. New York: Times Books & Holt.

NDSS (National Down Syndrome Society). 2015. "Achieving a Better Life Experience (ABLE) Act." National Down Syndrome Society, New York.

Ne'eman, Ari. 2016. "Hillary Clinton Wants to End the Loophole That Lets Disabled Workers Earn Less than Minimum Wage." *Vox*, March 31.

Ng, Terence, Charlene Harrington, Mary Beth Musumeci, and Erica L. Reaves. 2015. "Medicaid Home and Community-Based Services Programs: 2012 Data Update." Claude Pepper Center, Florida State University, Tallahassee. http://kff.org/medicaid/report/medicaid-home-and -community-based-services-programs-2012-data-update/.

Ouyang, Lijing, Scott D. Grosse, Catharine Riley, Julie Bolen, Ellen Bishop, Melissa Raspa, and Donald B. Bailey. 2014. "A Comparison of Family Financial and Employment Impacts of Fragile X Syndrome, Autism Spectrum Disorders, and Intellectual Disability." *Research in Developmental Disabilities* 35 (7): 1518–27.

Padgett, Deborah K. 2004. *The Qualitative Research Experience*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth/ Thomson Learning.

Parish, Susan L., Marsha Mailick Seltzer, Jan S. Greenberg, and Frank Floyd. 2004. "Economic Implications of Caregiving at Midlife: Comparing Parents with and without Children Who Have Developmental Disabilities." *Mental Retardation* 42 (6): 413–26.

Peprah, Emmanuel. 2014. "Understanding Decreased Fertility in Women Carriers of the FMR1 Premutation: A Possible Mechanism for Fragile X-Associated Primary Ovarian Insufficiency (FXPOI)." *Reproductive Health* 11:67.

Pollack, Harold A. 2007. "Learning to Walk Slow: America's Partial Policy Success in the Arena of Intellectual Disability." *Journal of Policy History* 19 (1): 95–112.

———. 2010. "Put to the Test." *American Prospect*, October 7. http://prospect.org/article/put -test-0.

Pollack, Veronica P., and Harold A. Pollack. 2006. "Bringing Vincent Home." *Health Affairs* 25 (1): 231–36.

President's Committee for People with Intellectual Disabilities. 2006. "Keeping the Charge: Personal and Economic Freedom for People with Intellectual Disabilities: An Exploration of Asset Development for People with Intellectual Disabilities." President's Committee for People with Intellectual Disabilities, US Department of Health and Human Services, Washington, DC. http://www.acl.gov/programs/aidd/Programs/PCPID/resources/docs/pr _2006_asset_development.pdf.

QSR International Pty Ltd. 2012. Nvivo Qualitative Data Analysis Software (Version 10).

Raspa, Melissa, Donald B. Bailey, Carla Bann, and Ellen Bishop. 2014. "Modeling Family Adaptation to Fragile X Syndrome." *American Journal of Intellectual and Developmental Disabilities* 119:33–48.

Raspa, Melissa, Donald B. Bailey, Ellen Bishop, David Holiday, and Murrey Olmsted. 2010. "Obesity, Food Selectivity, and Physical Activity in Individuals with Fragile X Syndrome." *American Journal on Intellectual and Developmental Disabilities* 115 (6): 482–95.

Raspberry, Kelly, and Debra Skinner. 2011. "Enacting Genetic Responsibility: Experiences of Mothers Who Carry the Fragile X Gene." *Sociology of Health and Illness* 33 (3): 420–33.

Reinhard, Susan C., Enid Kassner, and Ari Houser. 2011. "How the Affordable Care Act Can Help Move States toward a High-Performing System of Long-Term Services and Supports." *Health Affairs* 30 (3): 447–53.

Richards, B. W., P .E. Sylvester, and Carol Brooker. 1981. "Fragile X-Linked Mental Retardation: The Martin-Bell Syndrome." *Journal of Mental Deficiency Research* 25 (4): 253–56.

Richards, Caroline, Christopher Jones, Laura Groves, Jo Moss, and Chris Oliver. 2015. "Prevalence of Autism Spectrum Disorder Phenomenology in Genetic Disorders: A Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis." *Lancet* 2 (10): 909–16.

Rutter, Michael. 1996. "Transitions and Turning Points in Developmental Psychopathology: As Applied to the Age Span between Childhood and Mid-Adulthood." *International Journal of Behavioral Development* 19 (3): 603–26.

Seltzer, Marsha M., Mei Wang Baker, Jinkuk Hong, Matthew Maenner, Jan Greenberg, and Daniel Mandel. 2012. "Prevalence of CGG Expansions of the FMR1 Gene in a US Population-Based Sample." *American Journal of Medical Genetics, Part B, Neuropsychiatric Genetics: The Official Publication of the International Society of Psychiatric Genetics* 159B (5): 589–97.

Seltzer, Marsha M., Jan S. Greenberg, Frank J. Floyd, Yvette Pettee, and Jinkuk Hong. 2001. "Life Course Impacts of Parenting a Child with a Disability." *American Journal on Mental Retardation* 106 (3): 265–86.

Sullivan, Kelly, Deborah Hatton, Julie Hammer, John Sideris, Stephen Hooper, Peter Ornstein, and Donald Bailey. 2006. "ADHD Symptoms in Children with FXS." *American Journal of Medical Genetics Part A* 140 (21): 2275–88.

Trent, James W. 1994. *Inventing the Feeble Mind: A History of Mental Retardation in the United States.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Wheeler, Anne C., Joanna Mussey, Adrienne Villagomez, Ellen Bishop, Melissa Raspa, Anne Edwards, James Bodfish, Carla Bann, and Donald B. Bailey Jr. 2014. "DSM-5 Changes and the Prevalence of Parent-Reported Autism Spectrum Symptoms in Fragile X Syndrome." *Journal of Autism and Developmental Disorders* 45 (3): 816–29.

Refugee Resettlement Policy in an Era of Neoliberalization: A Policy Discourse Analysis of the Refugee Act of 1980

ODESSA GONZALEZ BENSON
University of Washington

ABSTRACT Refugee resettlement policy in the United States has not been viewed in terms of market-based analytics in the same way that welfare policy has, despite their similarities. Both are antipoverty policies that originated in the neoliberalizing policy environment of the 1980s. The Refugee Act of 1980 was legislated just 1 year before the Omnibus Act of 1981, but it is largely neglected in analyses of social policies in the neoliberal context. Drawing from literature on welfare policy, this study examines policy discourse surrounding the Refugee Act—specifically devolution of authority, privatization, managerialism, and workfare—as elements of neoliberal governance. Its findings illustrate how discourse served to rationalize and promote neoliberal practice in refugee resettlement policy. Juxtaposing refugee policy with welfare policy in terms of its temporal dimensions raises questions about citizenship rights and obligations as articulated by market-oriented policy, both for refugees who are not citizens and for welfare recipients who are.

INTRODUCTION

Refugee resettlement policy in the United States has not been viewed in terms of market-based analytics in the same way that welfare policy has, despite the two policies' shared functions and modes of poverty governance and temporal congruity. Both are public assistance and antipoverty federal policies, albeit targeting different groups of people. The modalities of resettlement policy, such as cash assistance, housing assistance, medical benefits, and support services for self-sufficiency and employment outcomes, mimic those of welfare policy. Temporally, the originating policies of the current forms of resettlement and welfare policy were legislated just 1 year apart, both out of the neoliberalizing policy environment of the early 1980s. The Refugee Act of 1980 is the landmark legislation that created federal refugee resettlement policy in the United States. A year after its passage, lawmakers

passed the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1981, which is considered one of three policies in the 1980s signifying the eventual institutionalization of market-oriented state strategies in the United States (Prasad 2006). The Omnibus Act, as welfare policy, cut antipoverty programs, restricted public benefits, and allowed states to test out workfare options (Moffitt 1984; Moscovice and Craig 1984; Katz 2013), thus arguably laying the groundwork for welfare reforms 15 years later with the 1996 Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (Prasad 2006). The 1996 reforms, in turn, characterize the definitive deepening of a market-centered, work-centered ethos and materiality in American poverty governance (Prasad 2006; Wacquant 2009; Soss, Fording, and Schram 2011; Katz 2013).

The Refugee Act is largely neglected in analyses of policies forming out of the neoliberal policy environment. Michael Katz's (2013) seminal social history of national poverty policy passes over refugee resettlement programs. It specifies Mexican immigrants, young black men, and single mothers as groups deemed to be the undeserving poor, but it does not include refugees in its analytic. Aihwa Ong's (2003) examination of resettlement policy as site of disciplinarity, meanwhile, preceded her work on neoliberal governance, which has shifted away from the US domestic space. Monica Prasad (2006) considers taxation, industry, and welfare policy, but she overlooks refugee policy in her analysis of key US policies in the 1980s that signified the eventual institutionalization of neoliberal policies.

This gap presents critical issues. Welfare policies have been extensively examined as consolidating market-based logic in specific forms and thus compromising the full citizenship of vulnerable Americans (Bourdieu 1998; Wacquant 2009; Toft 2010; Soss et al. 2011; Katz 2013; Woolford and Nelund 2013). Without a similar theoretical framing, refugee policy escapes critical analyses that may specify the same market-oriented processes at work and similar negative consequences for refugees. Further, juxtaposing refugee policy with welfare policy and considering their temporal dimensions raise questions about citizenship rights and obligations as articulated by market-oriented policy, both for refugees who are noncitizens and for welfare recipients who are citizens. Neoliberalism as a regulatory practice is characterized by moments of policy changes, path-dependence, and ongoing transformation (Brenner and Theodore 2002; Ong 2006; Gray et al. 2015). The Refugee Act of 1980, as precisely that punctuated moment of policy change and in precisely that transformative era of neoliberalization, may serve to illustrate "how neoliberalism . . . becomes translated" (Ong 2006,

13). Investigating policy discourse as a way into such translations may shed light on the ways in which neoliberalism becomes embedded as practice in contextually specific arenas.

This article examines the policy discourse surrounding the Refugee Act of 1980, which was formed in the era of neoliberalization in the United States, drawing from literature on welfare policy to inform its analysis. I deductively analyze four elements previously theorized about and examined in welfare policy scholarship—devolution of authority, privatization, managerialism, and workfare—in legislation, policy hearings, and policy documents. My research inquires whether those four elements were manifested in refugee policy discourse and, if so, how the elements were incorporated into policy discourse, drawing from critical discourse analysis both methodologically and theoretically.

THE REFUGEE ACT OF 1980

The Refugee Act of 1980 (hereafter "the Act") overhauled refugee admission and resettlement policies (US Public Law 96-212). The two-fold purpose of the Act was to redefine the legal definition of the refugee and to institute federal resettlement services.[1] First, the Act legally removed the geopolitical and ideological elements surrounding the refugee, thus reconstituting the United States' legal definition of the refugee to comply with the definition specified in the United Nations' 1951 Convention and Protocol related to the Status of Refugees (Barkdull et al. 2012; Hamlin and Wolgin 2012). Second, the Act created a federal structure or institution for systematic services and supports for resettled refugees called the Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR) under the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW), which is now the Department of Health and Human Services. In March 1979, Representative Elizabeth Holtzman of New York and Representative Peter Rodino of New Jersey proposed legislation H.R. 2816, sponsored by Senator Edward Kennedy, which would later be passed as Public Law 96-212, or the Refugee Act of 1980. Over 5 days in May 1979, in a series of public hearings, policy makers and stakeholders debated issues related to refugees.

Several factors of the late 1970s contextualize the broader environment surrounding the debates about and eventual formation of the Act. First was

---

1. This article analyzes solely the latter policy aim.

the immense number of Southeast Asian refugees, such as Vietnamese, Laoatians, and Cambodians, who were affected by the unpopular Vietnam War. Refugee admissions had become relatively stable in the United States between 1960 and 1970, but refugee admissions spiked after the end of the Vietnam War, and by 1979 about 14,000 Southeast Asian refugees were arriving each month (Zucker 1983; Hamlin and Wolgin 2012).

Second, there had been sustained political pressure regarding human rights, both internationally and domestically, that called for the revamping of US refugee laws (Hamlin and Wolgin 2012). Since the post–World War II era, US refugee admissions law defined refugees as those fleeing communist or communist-dominated countries, and it restricted admission to those who met the definition. In 1967, the United Nations Protocol on Refugees removed the political, communist-centric elements surrounding the treatment of refugees, and the United States in 1968 ratified the UN Protocol. However, the ratification has been considered merely a symbolic gesture, and the Protocol had yet to make its way into American legislation over a decade later (Hamlin and Wolgin 2012).

Third, existing resettlement assistance programs were critiqued for being ad hoc and reactive and for splintering administration and service provision across several governmental and nongovernmental agencies (Zucker 1983). There was no comprehensive federal program for refugee resettlement, and the existing policies and programs were deemed communist-centric, reflecting the Cold War sentiments of the time (Hamlin and Wolgin 2012).

A fourth contextual element was new immigration into the United States, ushered in over a decade earlier than the influx of refugees following the end of the Vietnam War, with the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965. This act repealed national origin quotas in the preceding policy that had restricted the entry of Asian, South and Central American, Caribbean, and African immigrants. The immigrant and racial composition of the American population was reconfiguring by the late 1970s, as was the discourse about the history of exclusion of and discrimination against immigrants in the public sphere as well as in the professional spheres of social work (Park and Kemp 2006). Refugees, as a subset of immigrants, subsume into broader discourses about immigrants and race relations.[2]

2. Immigrant policy, along with welfare policy, and race relations were important for refugee policy, but that analysis is beyond the scope of this article.

Finally, the policy environment around the beginning of the 1980s was marked by market-based rationale and strategies that became the basis for most social policies, such as those concerning housing, education, taxation, industries, and social welfare (Ong 2006; Prasad 2006; Katz 2013). This article considers the policy environment surrounding the Act, as contextualized by social welfare policy specifically.

US SOCIAL WELFARE POLICY AND NEOLIBERALISM

Marketized forms of welfare policy and poverty governance within broader neoliberal policy environments began within the post–World War II context, came to widespread prominence in the early 1980s, and then deepened with the 1996 welfare reforms. After World War II, in the 1950s and 1960s, the United States and other advanced capitalist countries developed interventionist policies to prevent the geopolitical rivalries that had led up to the war, to ensure peace and stability, and to arbitrate class relations. Embedded liberalism that combined state, market, and democratic institutions expanded during this time of high economic growth (Harvey 2005).

In the 1970s, urban poverty in the United States increased alongside a series of profound and complex transformations on multiple economic and social dimensions (Harvey 2005; Katz 2013). An energy crisis and the deindustrialization of the US economy contributed to increased unemployment, capital accumulation, and income inequality. Massive outmigration from southern states into urban localities and new immigration from non-European counties altered the demographic composition of the United States, especially in cities. Cities were also transformed by suburbanization, gentrification, and increased racial segregation. Economic, demographic, and spatial changes concentrated in cities ushered in a new kind of urban poverty around the early 1980s. State interventionist approaches thus were challenged by advocates for open, competitive, self-regulating, free markets unhindered by the state as the prime mechanism for economic growth in a globalizing context (Harvey 2005; Katz 2013).

Neoliberalism thus came to the fore as a transnational ideological and political movement that prioritized market economics and freedoms and that used these principles to reform state functions and processes (Harvey 2005; Wacquant 2009; Gray et al. 2015). Two key features of neoliberalism describe how it departs from the classic forms of liberalism of the 1800s (Soss et al. 2011; Gray et al. 2015). First, whereas liberalism revolves around

the economic and the political, neoliberalism denotes the extending of market principles and economic rationale to the social and the cultural. The market logic behind the notion of individual responsibility extends to other domains of social life. Second, neoliberalism is viewed not as an attempt to limit state power in order to allow the market to flourish, but instead as a technology of government. "Neoliberals have not dismantled the activist state; they have embraced its authority while working to redirect and transform it" (Soss et al. 2011, 6). Activities of the state are dressed as nonpolitical and devoid of ideology and are depicted instead in terms of market rationality and technical aspects, "a profoundly active way of rationalizing governing and self-governing in order to 'optimize'" (Ong 2006, 3). Some of the centerpieces of neoliberalism as state practice are competition, individual responsibility, economic deregulation, detaxation, international free trade, private property, scaling back workers' rights, expanding the penal or criminal justice institution, and reconfiguring welfare institutions.

It is difficult to identify a singular definition and distinct linearity of the neoliberal emergence, and neoliberalism's global development remains varied and uneven in terms of its geographic, social, and institutional forms (Brenner and Theodore 2002; Gray et al. 2015). While neoliberalism can be viewed through a structuralist lens as "an omnipresent, hegemonic force" specified as a nationally based regime type or as a political economy regime on a global scale, a governmentality perspective emphasizes neoliberalism as a regulatory practice that is grounded, unstable, and contextualized (Ong 2006; Brenner, Peck, and Theodore 2010, 349). Corollary to neoliberalism as an ideology or theory is neoliberalism in practice, or "actually existing neoliberalism," a term used by Neil Brenner and Nic Theodore (2002, 349) to denote an approach to understanding neoliberalism that emphasizes "the contextual embeddedness of neoliberal restructuring projects insofar as they have been produced within national, regional, and local contexts defined by the legacies of inherited institutional frameworks, policy regimes, regulatory practices, and political struggles." Neoliberalism is conceptualized not as an end-state of the policy regime, but as a process of ongoing transformation, characterized by path-dependence and moments of institutional and policy changes (Brenner and Theodore 2002; Gray et al. 2015), such as welfare reforms and refugee policy formation.

Scholars agree that the reforms of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) of 1996 explicitly and profoundly mark the renewed face of the American welfare state (Cherlin et al.

2002; Lynn 2002; Wacquant 2009; Soss et al. 2011; Hasenfeld and Garrow 2012). PRWORA consolidated and capped the retraction of the welfare state that began two decades earlier with the decline in the real dollar value of public assistance benefits and the minimum wage. Attitudes toward race (Gilens 1999) and the issues of care for children and treatment of single parents, particularly mothers (Bainbridge, Meyers, and Waldfogel 2003), were also key in welfare policy reforms.[3] This restructuring is characterized by decreased generosity and increased restrictions in eligibility and, as a result, a dramatic decline in the number of cases (Cherlin et al. 2002; Soss et al. 2011).

CONCEPTUALIZING DEVOLUTION OF AUTHORITY, PRIVATIZATION, MANAGERIALISM, AND WORKFARE

The points of departure for this analysis are four core elements of neoliberal ideology and practice—devolution of authority, privatization, managerialism, and workfare—that have been examined in welfare scholarship (Daugherty and Barber 2001; Lynn 2002; Wacquant 2009; Benish 2010; Brodkin 2011; Soss et al. 2011; Breitkreuz and Williamson 2012; Katz 2013; Woolford and Nelund 2013; Gray et al. 2015). These four elements formulate into a conceptual framework for understanding neoliberal practice in poverty governance, including that of resettled refugees. After describing each element, I discuss how these four elements are interlinked yet distinguishable parts of the framework, and I then consider their application to scholarship on refugee resettlement in the United States.

DEVOLUTION OF AUTHORITY

Devolution of authority is a policy design that minimizes the state and gives lower levels of government broad freedoms, and thus discretion, to tailor governance to their own area's particular needs and to respond to local

---

3. In refugee policy, issues about children and families were addressed via specific policy provisions for unaccompanied minors; no additional stipulations targeted single parents. That difference is significant, but analysis of it is beyond the scope of this article. Regarding race, refugees were mostly people of color (such as those from Vietnam) during policy making in the 1980s, whereas earlier refugee policies of the post-war era focused on refugees who were mostly white, Jewish, and Eastern European. That difference, too, is significant, but it is beyond the scope of this article.

political and economic conditions (Fording, Soss, and Schram 2007). The federal government sets program goals and uses benchmarks, incentives, and requirements to structure choices of state and local governments (Benish 2010). Scholars have examined how local political values, ideology, and race relations determine local-level discretion, thus altering program designs and implementation on the ground and creating systematic differences across locales nationwide (Brodkin 1997; Reisch and Sommerfeld 2002; Kissane 2006; Fording et al. 2007; Benish 2010). For example, scholars have examined the influence a state's political orientation, whether liberal or conservative, has on state-level welfare generosity (Fording et al. 2007). Research shows that state governments in states with larger African American populations, in another example, alter benefit levels and add additional terms to eligibility criteria "in ways consistent with the racial order of their region," thereby implementing racial discrimination, specifically against African Americans, in welfare administration (Piven 2003, 327).

PRIVATIZATION

Privatization is the outsourcing of services, including welfare services, to private entities or public-private partnerships, including to nonprofit organizations (Lynn 2002). Corporations and private agencies provide services that had previously been provided by public agencies, such as foster care and vocational-rehabilitation services, as well as other services such as prisons, public parks, financing, and engineering (Soss et al. 2011). With privatization, state affairs generally, and in welfare provision specifically, were infused with a pro-business agenda and managerialism (which is described next; Hasenfeld and Garrow 2012; Abramovitz and Zelnick 2015). Privatized welfare aid provision is a lucrative business investment, as private entities invest in and profit from providing human services (Soss et al. 2011; Hasenfeld and Garrow 2012). Regulations and expectations in the new legislation weighed down on local organizations and agencies and made it increasingly difficult for them to meet the often incongruous demands of the individuals they serve and the 1996 legislation (Reisch and Sommerfeld 2002).

MANAGERIALISM

Managerialism, which may also be termed *new public management*, denotes a new policy strategy adopting a business model that redefines the policy

goals and outcomes of the human services domain in predominantly economic terms (Cherlin et al. 2002; Harlow 2003; Benish 2010; Brodkin 2011; Woolford and Nelund 2013; Abramovitz and Zelnick 2015). Performance systems are used to address the difficult administrative challenges of contending with complex goals and implementing a highly fragmented system of policy (Soss et al. 2011). This business model prioritizes economic bottom-line results, increases accountability and performance, and seeks "to replace traditional rule-based, authority-driven processes with market-based, competition-driven tactics" (Kettl 2005, 3; Abramovitz and Zelnick 2015). This strategy and the pursuit of performance goals that it entails may come at the expense of rights-based provisions and, in the long term, more substantive policy goals (Harlow 2003; Hasenfeld and Garrow 2012).

Compliance and accountability are monitored and ensured using inspections, reporting requirements, and benchmarks that are tied to financial incentives, penalties, sanctions, and resource allocations (Cherlin et al. 2002; Harlow 2003; Benish 2010; Soss et al. 2011; Abramovitz and Zelnick 2015). Resources are allocated via crude outcome measures and quantifiable benchmarks. Some welfare scholars have examined how outcome measures that are tied to clients' behaviors can function to differentiate between clients, between those who can be processed with fewer resources and thus add to the profitability of the organization and those who will instead be a liability (Hasenfeld and Garrow 2012). Government agencies were critiqued as flawed and inefficient in order to gain legitimacy for the need for changes that entail the overlay of a business model and performance systems. Aspects of that alteration that now perhaps seem ordinary and prevalent were once a purposive imbuing of official communications, mission statements, staff training, and education (Soss et al. 2011).

WORKFARE

Workfare, the coupling of work and welfare, is a notable dimension of the 1996 reforms (Wacquant 2009). PRWORA imposed work requirements, and the systems of checks and sanctions and organizational recalibration that came with them, on recipients (Daugherty and Barber 2001). Public assistance was conditioned on work requirements, time limits, and sanctions for noncompliance for recipients (Daugherty and Barber 2001; Wacquant 2009; Breitkreuz and Williamson 2012). The reforms impressed the importance of work upon recipients, but they did not address other factors of work, such as

unemployment levels, inadequate wages, and insufficiency of protections and supports (i.e., transportation, child care, and health insurance; Wacquant 2009). The operations of welfare and the labor market became intertwined, as welfare aid became a motivation to work for recipients as employment became a primary requirement for service receipt (Daugherty and Barber 2001; Wacquant 2009; Breitkreuz and Williamson 2012). By promoting work, the state played a more active role in the labor market. The welfare state functions less as a decommodifying space and safety net and has self-sufficiency as its mantra and employment as its goal (Daugherty and Barber 2001; Breitkreuz and Williamson 2012). Some scholars also posit that workfare and marketization are evident not only in processes but also in culture and ideology within institutions, signaling a deeper structural shift (Wacquant 2009; Hasenfeld 2010; Soss et al. 2011).

THE FOUR ELEMENTS AS CO-CONSTITUTIVE PARTS OF A FRAMEWORK

In formulating the conceptual framework with these four elements, I began primarily by considering Katz's (2013) argument that welfare policy in the 1980s coalesced around three goals: ending dependence, or workfare; devolving authority; and applying market models to social policy, or marketization. I further partitioned marketization into privatization and managerialism, drawing further from Katz, specifically his explication that in the "new market-based approach to poverty policy, initiative passed from a reduced state to the private sector, offering innovations at once less demeaning and more effective, as well as less expensive" (2013, 250), whereby "private sector" indicates privatization and "innovations" indicates managerialism. That same partition of marketization can be seen in Joe Soss, Richard Fording, and Sanford Schram's work, which posits that "marketization of poverty governance reveal(s) how privatization and 'business models'" have affected welfare service provision. Further, Soss and colleagues (2011, 10) treated privatization and the use of business models, as well as devolution of authority, separately in their work.

Existing welfare scholarship has examined in different ways the four aspects of neoliberal practice, treating each of the elements on its own (i.e., Woolford and Nelund 2013), in other combinations (i.e., Soss et al. 2011; Hasenfeld and Garrow 2012; Abramovitz and Zelnick 2015), and with other dimensions, such as race (i.e., Wacquant 2009; Soss et al. 2011; Brown 2013).

More specifically, discourse analyses pertaining to welfare have variably examined the four elements. The discourse analysis by Andrew Woolford and Amanda Nelund (2013) uses work, self-management, privatized responsibility, and entrepreneurship, among other related concepts, to define the neoliberal citizen within the bureaucratic field. Mimi Abramovitz and Jennifer Zelnick (2015) hone in on privatization and managerialism in examining the perspectives of human service practitioners. Nancy Fraser and Linda Gordon (1994), meanwhile, trace the genealogy of the word *dependency* as a key word in the welfare state. Jessica Toft (2010) and Hana Brown (2013) focus on work and dependency in their discourse analyses of legislators' justification for welfare reform and racialized stereotypes of welfare recipients, respectively.

The elements can be conceptualized discreetly, while also interwoven (Katz 2013). Semantic overlaps exist, particularly between privatization and managerialism, which are two aspects of marketization. The transfer of responsibility to the private sector necessarily entailed the transfer of attendant business models and managerial processes. Privatization is also conceptually linked with devolution of authority, which denotes the passing of authority not only down from federal to state and local governments but also down to the private sector. Workfare, meanwhile, conceptually entails devolving authority from the state to individuals as workers. Implementation of workfare is also through the private sector, and thus this is also a managerial process.

THE FOUR ELEMENTS IN REFUGEE RESETTLEMENT SCHOLARSHIP

Federal refugee policy was instituted in the 1980s at a time of market-oriented shifts in policy in the United States, but it has largely been overlooked in analyses of social policies. Four points may help explain that neglect and the uneven application of neoliberal discourses across social positions and in research in different bureaucratic fields. First, due to the invisibility of refugees as a recognized constituency, refugees fall largely outside the popular critique of neoliberal ideology and research on the market re-orientation of welfare (see Prasad 2006; Wacquant 2009; Katz 2013). Second, a humanitarian and human rights narrative was replacing communist-centric concerns about refugee policy in the 1980s (Hamlin and Wolgin 2012), thus obscuring neoliberal perspectives. In both public and academic

discourse, the international aspect of refugee policy pertaining to admissions perhaps eclipsed its domestic aspects. Third, the field of refugee studies has been insular, has lacked deeper engagement with broader social science concerns and theory, and has been too focused on specific policy problems located solely within the refugee arena (Black 2001), thus failing to make connections to welfare policy and neoliberalism. Finally, an influential academic study into US refugee policy by anthropologist Aihwa Ong (2003) draws upon Foucauldian notions of disciplinarity. Ong turns to refugees and their resettlement, exploring institutional policies, processes, practices, and actors that not only offer assistance and resources but also serve in the production of American subjects. Ong argues that resettlement program sites, including refugee agencies, the community hospital, the welfare office, and family interventions in the home, are assimilationist. Ong's rich and critical study includes entrepreneurial values and welfare as disciplinary institutions, but it does not specifically locate refugee policy within the neoliberal era of the time. Differing social positions within bureaucratic fields manifest differing discourses, and perhaps a disciplinary, paternalistic discourse overshadowed a neoliberal one for refugees, more commonly regarded as assimilating immigrants. In Ong's more recent work, she turns to neoliberal state processes more specifically, but she shifts away from the American domestic space to the global scale and hones in on neoliberal impositions in non-Western and particularly Asian regions and governments (Ong 2006). Resettlement policy in the United States thus skirts her purview.

However, a disparately located and relatively small body of literature on refugee policy in more recent forms points to the relevance of the four elements of neoliberal practice that I identify. Scholars examine workfare in terms of self-sufficiency outcomes and job placement services in local contexts, illustrating the multifaceted factors in refugee employment (Erickson 2010; Connolly 2013). Other scholars, meanwhile, problematize the altered roles of refugee-serving organizations and agencies in current practice and policy (Nawyn 2006; Trudeau 2008; Darrow 2015), the marketized public-private partnerships in resettlement aid provision (Trudeau 2008). The relevance of racial and ethnic politics and conservative politics in welfare policy in the 1970s to refugee policy formation has also been examined (Whorton 1997). This scholarship on resettlement programming in its more current forms calls for a closer look. However, these works hone in on one

aspect of neoliberalism as it pertains to refugee policy, but they stop short of integrating their findings into a more comprehensive final analysis, so as to deliberate on theory about refugee policy. Still absent from that scholarship is an analysis that examines the four elements that I have identified holistically within refugee policy against the neoliberal political context around which it formed.

METHOD

Analyses of policy discourse play a key part in social welfare scholarship, revealing the ways in which language and ideas about poverty, welfare recipients, and policy processes may shape policy and thus become embedded in practice (Curran 2002; Toft 2010; Brown 2013). Discourse analyses, and qualitative approaches more generally, can illustrate meaning-making, or the battling over meaning that frames and then advances policy (Toft 2010; Brown 2013) and institutional and organizational behavior (Moylan and Lindhorst 2015). The concept of intertextuality describes how discourse, as it is represented in text in one policy arena, such as welfare, or in one field or in broader discourse, can be absorbed, borrowed, and subsumed in another field (Kristeva 1986; Bertrand 2016). Intertextuality views policy discourse as the amalgamation of voices and ideas of various stakeholders, drawn from various prior and parallel sources. Yet, intertextuality also highlights the productive process of policy discourse, through which those same voices and ideas may be minimized or maximized, and reconfigured and manipulated by the stakeholders, in order to generate new discourses or reiterate and reinforce existing ones (Fairclough 1992; Bertrand 2016). Critical discourse analysis, as a specific theoretical and methodological approach to studying discourse, examines "the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" (VanDijk 1998, 352). Main tenets of critical discourse analysis include a focus on ideology, history, social problems, and power relations and the interpretative and explanatory basis of the approach (Hartwig 2006; Toft 2010). Implied in this approach is an explicit critical position or perspective, which thus differentiates it from other forms of methodological and analytical approaches to policy analysis (i.e., quantitative and qualitative analyses of outcomes, cost-benefit analyses, case and comparative studies; Wilson 2003; Hartwig 2006).

This policy discourse analysis draws from intertextuality and from the theoretical and methodological underpinnings of critical discourse analysis to consider the assertion that refugee policy was constitutive of the elements that marked the broader neoliberal policy environment of its time. Without a specifically comparative orientation, this study dòes not examine intertextuality in terms of the explicit transfer of text or discourse between the bureaucratic fields of welfare to refugee resettlement. This study deductively examines the legislation and discourse surrounding the Refugee Act of 1980 in terms of the four elements previously theorized and examined in welfare policy: devolution of authority, privatization, managerialism, and workfare. A deductive approach is appropriate when analysis is structured on concepts that have been previously operationalized and analyzed and these are used to test or retest categories, concepts, or hypotheses in a new context (Wilson 2003; Elo and Kyngas 2008), as is the case in this article.

SOURCE DOCUMENTS

I reviewed original government policy documents relating to the Refugee Act of 1980. For a complete list of the documents that were reviewed, see appendix A. My sources were the Act itself (Public Law No. 96-212, 94 Stat. 102); two documents from 1981, an Administrative Directive and the Code of Federal Regulations, that detail the Act; complete congressional hearings; and policy documents from 1979 pertaining to refugee resettlement. Two searches, for hearings and for policy documents, were conducted using the online academic library database ProQuest Congressional Publications to identify sources. For details on search methods, see appendix B.

The 1979 congressional hearings (hereafter referred to as 1979 hearings) were held before the Subcommittee on Immigration, Refugee, and International Law of the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, 96th Congress. Approximately 25 witnesses came to testify, including government officials, state governors, academic researchers, and representatives of nonprofit organizations and coalitions serving refugees and political organizations (i.e., Amnesty International; the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations). Testimonies were also submitted as written statements. Notable witnesses included the attorney general of the United States, the secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the ambassador-at-large US coordinator for refugee affairs.

ANALYSIS

The descriptions of the four elements and the distinctions among them, de-tailed in the previous section, were sensitizing concepts that informed anal-ysis and specifically the creation of categorization frames. See appendix C for more about categorization frames. Specifically for the purpose of the ensuing analysis, the four elements were conceptualized discreetly, though they also co-constitute to form a broader framework, as also previously discussed. *Workfare* is specified as the conditioning of public assistance on work requirements. *Privatization* is specified as outsourcing or subcontract-ing human services and goods that had previously been provided by the public domain unto private entities. *Devolution of authority* is specified as the transfer of authorities from federal to state and local levels, but not second-order devolution to the private sector (which is conceptually linked to privatization) or the individual level (which is conceptually linked to work-fare). *Managerialism* is specified as the processes, such as tactics, modalities, procedures, and strategies, through which privatization, workfare, and devolved authority could be implemented. That is to say, when texts over-lapped in terms of categorical frames between managerialism and the other three elements, the text was sorted into the managerialism category, al-though it was conceptually linked with the other elements. Using the ele-ments in these specific ways and using the deductive, critical approach serves analytical purposes but may also create limitations. Other conceptual specifications and an inductive research design may capture the more com-plex character of each element and their interlinkages and other dimensions or themes in the discourse, respectively. Also, future studies could more fully examine how the differing social positions of stakeholders, for example, those of state versus nonprofit agencies, and the lack of representation of refugees and their advocates may have played a role in the policy discourse.

I coded electronic versions of source documents by hand, and I created categorization frames for each of the four elements. I included texts into categories when the text included one of the four terms or used related language. I applied a reflexive process of reviewing and coding text, wherein as more and more parts of the texts were coded, new words or terms were added into categorization frames when applicable. I extracted blocks of text that corresponded to these frames and then sorted by category. After the text of all of the documents was sorted into the four categories or excluded, each set of text was analyzed for themes and evidence of congruence or

consistency and incongruence or contradiction. I conducted a second cod-
ing review in three instances: when a substantial amount of blocks of text
were coded into one category, when emergent themes were located in one
specific section of a document or testimony, and when a block of text was
analyzed as diverging from, contrary to, or not fitting the emergent themes.

FINDINGS

I take two steps in discussing findings based on analysis of devolution of
authority, privatization, managerialism, and workfare in refugee policy dis-
course and how they were embedded in policy discourse to address
research questions. First, I specify text from source documents that evi-
dences the four elements of neoliberalism that I have identified. Second, I
discuss themes that emerged from texts or quotes in testimonies and policy
documents to illustrate how testimonies and policy documents rationalized
and argued for the four elements of neoliberal practice in refugee policy. All
quotes come from "The Refugee Act of 1979: Hearing before the Subcom-
mittee on Immigration, Refugees, and International Law, Committee on the
Judiciary" (US Congress Senate Committee on the Judiciary 1979), unless
otherwise noted.

PRIVATIZATION IN THE REFUGEE ACT OF 1980

The key and historic role of private entities in refugee resettlement, as
strong validation for institutionalizing privatization, is evident in policy
discourse. In the congressional hearing, not a single testimony opposed the
clear consensus among both public and private entities about the successful
legacy of the private sector, specifically voluntary agencies, which are pri-
vate, nationally based organizations, nonprofit or for-profit and faith-based
or secular, that are contracted by the government to provide resettlement
services (Nawyn 2006). The private sector had long been a part of US
resettlement since the years after World War II (Moore 1979), and the Act
codified that existing framework as part of federal policy.

Legislated Privatization
The Act stipulates that resettlement services will be administered by private
nonprofit agencies, along with public agencies. The Act authorizes the ORR
director "to make grants to, and enter into contracts, with, public or private

nonprofit agencies for projects" for addressing refugee employment, language skills, and other specific needs such as health or mental health (3 USC § 412(c)(1)), for "initial resettlement including initial reception and placement with sponsors" (3 USC § 412(a)(10)(b)(ii)), and for "up to 100 per centum of the cash assistance and medical assistance provided to any refugee" (3 USC § 412(e)(1)). In short, the Act makes it permissible for refugee services to be conducted entirely by private nonprofit agencies. The Act specifies that the federal resettlement office will "(take) into account the different resettlement approaches and practices of such agencies" (3 USC § 412(a)(10)(B)(ii)), referring to voluntary agencies. The Act mandates that the ORR consult regularly not only with states and localities but also with "private nonprofit voluntary organizations concerning sponsorship process and the intended distribution of refugees" (3 USC § 301(c)(1)). States are also mandated to have a designee who is "responsible for insuring [*sic*] coordination of public and private resources" (3 USC § 412(a)(6)(A)(iii)).

Uncontested Role and Long History in Resettlement: Private Agencies
as "Key Ingredient to Success" and with "100-Year Record of Success"
Public-private partnerships in resettlement programming were heralded as not only central but as necessary to policy; the legitimacy of public-private partnerships was not once contested by a single testimony in the entire hearing. Preserving the public-private relationship was key in several testimonies. The US coordinator for refugee affairs noted that the "crucial element in international and domestic program is our relationship with private voluntary agencies. Our resettlement program could not function without their generous help." He later reasserted that "the role of private voluntary agencies has proven time and again to be the key ingredient to success. Our resettlement program could not succeed without them." Voluntary agencies do resettlement "in a more humanitarian way, in a more sensitive and responsive way," and they provide "caring personal service," as stated by the representatives for the Citizens Commission on Indochinese Refugee and for HEW, respectively. The secretary of HEW expressed that one of the reasons for his support of the proposed legislation was that it was "carefully drawn to preserve, support, and strengthen the hand of both voluntary agencies and states." An associate professor of social science at Michigan State University concurred: "I urge planning that increases the role of voluntary agencies in planning." The public-private relationship was a "unique partnership" and a "creative partnership," as stated by the

representatives of the Council of Jewish Federations and Lutheran Social Services, respectively. One of their main concerns was the hope "that various programs of public and private are used as effectively as possible," as stated by the American Council of Voluntary Agency representative.

Policy documents show how the historical role of the private sector in resettlement, beginning in the earliest years of refugee policies, is used to promote grounds for institutionalizing the existing privatization in resettlement services. The 1979 Congressional Research Service report (Moore 1979) reviews resettlement assistance programs and compiles existing policy reports in order to provide historical background for the role of the private sector. From the post–World War II era up until the time of the hearings, resettlement in the United States had been carried out almost entirely by "nonprofit voluntary agencies [that] assumed primary responsibility for assisting refugees" (Moore 1979, 35). "In other countries which resettle substantial number of refugees, government agencies often perform many of the functions that voluntary agencies perform in the US" (Moore 1979, 18). The very first federal action pertaining to refugees was President Truman's Presidential Directive of 1945, an ad hoc policy for admitting war refugees. The Displaced Persons Act of 1948 replaced that directive and stipulated that to be admitted "an alien had to provide assurances that he would be able to obtain employment and housing . . . and that he would not become a public charge," and it was private nonprofit agencies that provided those assurances (Moore 1979, 28). "Assurances of housing, employment, and financial support from voluntary agencies have enabled many refugees to enter the US" (Moore 1979, 35). The 1948 policy and the Refugee Relief Act of 1953 provisioned federal funds to be loaned to voluntary agencies to facilitate resettlement services by mobilizing communities and by linking refugees with American sponsors. Voluntary agencies have also facilitated programs specifically for unaccompanied minors or orphans and "hard to resettle" cases since the 1950s (Moore 1979, 35). In 1980, eight voluntary agencies, three of which were church-related, provided resettlement services (Moore 1979, 126). "Our presence here . . . is symbolic of our agency's and church's historic concern for those (with no) voice . . . and have to rely on others to speak for them," stated the representative of Lutheran Social Services. The testimony of the Council of Jewish Federations' representative included a cautioning against "destroying the 100-year record of success" of the voluntary private sector.

MANAGERIALISM IN THE REFUGEE ACT OF 1980

In the policy discourse, problematizing the financial costs of resettlement and its attending administrative and logistical challenges served to justify managerial modes of governance. Cost effectiveness was central to discussions, as policy makers and stakeholders negotiated ways to administer and fund the complex and difficult task of receiving, placing, and supporting thousands of refugees every year. Relatedly, public agencies were criticized for being inefficient, while private agencies were touted as cost efficient and successful, implying justification for managerialism. The centrality of cost in debates reflected economic logic for policy, but a key dissenting argument was posed. The administrative director in charge of resettlement services stated that public aid costs for refugees in fact constituted an insignificant portion of total welfare program costs, but this counterargument failed to gain traction in the policy debates. The final legislation specified monitoring processes and modalities of new public management or managerialism.

Legislated Managerialism

The Act mandates that the newly formed federal refugee resettlement office "shall develop a system of monitoring the assistance provided [to] include (a) evaluations of the effectiveness of programs funded . . . and performance of states, grantees, and contractors; (b) financial auditing and other appropriate monitoring to detect any fraud, abuse, or mismanagement in the operations of programs; (c) data collection on the service provided and results" (3 USC § 412(a)(7)(b)). To receive federal funding and assistance, states are mandated to "meet standards, goals, and priorities, developed by the (ORR) director" and submit annually "a report on the uses of funds" (3 USC § 412(a)(6)).

Costs: "How Much Money Will This . . . Cost the American Taxpayers?"

The question of cost and quest for cost effectiveness was dominant in the congressional hearing, reflecting emphasis on economic terms and thus implying grounds for managerial modes for tackling such costs. Managerialism focuses on bottom-line results, accountability, and performance, thus reducing costs and making agencies more cost effective. Instead of outcomes such as refugee wellness, appropriate transition, and successful long-term integration, policy debates centered on minimizing costs, and the

hearing determined that a business model was best for the job. In the introduction to the hearing, the committee chairperson said, "We must improve and streamline our procedures for absorbing and resettling refugees." Policy makers asked about costs when considering policy options, as evidenced in the following five statements by four different policy makers: "How do you compare the cost of having persons in absorption centers or hostels versus having persons in homes of relatives?" "Can you quantify the costs of failing to provide the basic English language skills at the outset?" "How much money will this program, if enacted into law, cost the American taxpayers?" "I and other Congressmen are going to have to justify to our constituents that there are no costs involved, or . . . that it will be picked up by the federal government." "The creation of complete infrastructure to take care of the newcomer, since in most cases housing, parks, streets, schools, and all the necessities for creating a new life must be built from scratch." Calculations were presented throughout the debate, such as cost of services, cost per job placement, cost per refugee (estimated at the time to be about $20,000 per capita), and infrastructure costs. A university professor offered his opinion for cost management: "My own guess is that more money spent at the beginning of the resettlement process will mean less in the way of long-term costs of refugees." So did a representative of the private entity United Israel Appeal: "In the long run, it is much cheaper to use this indoctrination method to the country (absorption centers) than to, let's say, throw them into cold water and say go ahead and swim."

Policy makers and stakeholders problematized costs, but the director of HEW, the public agency administering resettlement at that time, stated that at least in terms of public assistance to refugees, "HEW is so big and refugee components within the total HEW structure would be so small, that the program costs are inconsequential." Paying for resettlement of thousands of refugees each year was nevertheless a point of contention in the hearings. This point was counterfactual to the broader discussions about cost, but it elicited neither response nor further debate and was not in any other testimony.

Inefficient Public Agencies: "Inadequacy of State-Run Social Services"

The director of the US Government Accountability Office (US GAO) international division reported a lack of effective oversight of state government contracts and potential for abuse within HEW, which would later be the Department of Health and Human Services. The HEW director reported

that "HEW (has) not made systematic, nationwide audits or evaluations of state government refugee programs or claims for federal reimbursements.... Because states' contracts are 100 percent federally funded, [there is a] tendency . . . for states to be less conscientious in monitoring effectiveness and expenditures." The director also advocated for closer surveillance and mandated audits to tighten the monitoring of grant funds and called "careful, constant, prudent monitoring and management [of HEW] a high priority."

The 1979 Congressional Research Service (CRS) policy report documents HEW's areas of weakness in managing resettlement programs. "Government officials have had a difficult time planning and managing refugee programs on any but a very ad hoc basis. Over the past 3 years, the HEW Indochina Refugee Program Office has had several reorganizations, its staff levels have fluctuated, detailed program guidelines have never been formulated, and some important evaluation and monitoring responsibilities have not been carried out" (Moore 1979, 137). Regional office staff members responsible for monitoring federally funded social service contracts for refugee programs stated that they had no experience in carrying out the task of resettlement. The unpredictability of refugee admissions and funding delays and uncertainties also impeded resettlement efforts. The comptroller general's report to the Congress agrees that "several voluntary agencies noted the inadequacy of state-run social services and job training programs" (Moore 1979, 131). Such woes and problems implied that agencies needed increased accountability, monitoring, and standards for performance and outcomes, precisely the strategies leading to managerialism.

Cost-Effective Private Agencies: "Expedite Resettlement Program at a Much Lower Cost"

Cost efficacy, meanwhile, was heralded. Specifically, the cost efficacy of private agencies was contrasted against that of their public counterparts, providing rationale for the managerial processes that came with private agencies. As earlier discussed, privatization and managerialism combine as marketization, and testimonies made that explicit by linking private agencies with their business model, touted as successful. "The private sector can, without question . . . at a very much lower cost, do the job of resettlement (better) than government could do it or would do it if that were its role," stated the Citizens Commission on Indochinese Refugees representative. "We've also developed expertise not only in social resettlement program,

but economically as well. . . . We are expediting the resettlement program at a much lower cost than . . . two or three years ago," asserted the Council of Jewish Federations representative. "We believe . . . our experience in delivering integrated resettlement services can serve as a model," that representative continued. "The private sector has been able to move fast to work out alternative plans and be extremely flexible," stated the Lutheran Social Services representative. However, the US GAO director countered that voluntary agencies were not monitored: "It's a flat rate per refugee (for reception services). There are no specific targets as to what is to be accomplished." This was a clear point of contention, but the argument did not elicit further debates and was not reflected in any other testimony.

DEVOLUTION OF AUTHORITY IN THE REFUGEE ACT OF 1980

Two opposing arguments emerged in discourse, one countering and the other supporting devolution of authority. The need for equity and uniformity, giving grounds for centralized governance that would standardize operations and thus policy outcomes across the country, rather than devolved authority, is apparent in policy documents and testimonies. Programmatic problems caused by variability and inconsistency were one of the issues that set in motion the overhaul and federalizing of resettlement services in the first place. Contradictorily, however, flexibility was also touted as advantageous, serving to rationalize devolution of authority, which would allow states to tailor administration according to local needs but also local politics and attitudes, thus creating nonuniformity and discretion. Consistency was in direct conflict with flexibility, but the latter dominated in the final legislation, which specified a highly devolved model of state administration and second-order devolution to the private sector.

Legislated Devolution of Authority

The final resettlement legislation explicitly stipulates the devolving of authority and decision making from the newly created federal Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR) to states and then to local agencies. The legislation does not specify processes or detailed plans for implementing refugee resettlement; instead, it specifies that, as a condition for receiving federal assistance or funding, "a State must submit to the (ORR) Director a plan which provides a description of how the State intends to encourage effective resettlement and to promote economic self-sufficiency as quickly

as possible," along with other requirements (Refugee Act of 1980, 3 USC § 412(a)(6)(A)(i)).

Consistency Needed: A "Crazy Quilt," a "Hodge Podge," and "a Patchwork" of Programs

The policy debates called for an "equitable," "uniform," and "consistent" program, warranting centralized rather than devolved governance. In introducing the proposed legislation, the chairperson noted that "the objective of this Act is . . . to provide a comprehensive and uniform provisions for temporary and transitional assistance to those refugees who are admitted." The US coordinator for refugee affairs also expressed the need for "a more equitable way of assisting refugees once they've arrived." Inconsistency and variability were the main problems with the existing resettlement program, with services varying across different localities and agencies nationwide and for different refugee groups. Inconsistency was such a problem that "Federal and State Involvement: A 'Patchwork' of Programs and Funding" was the title for one chapter in the comptroller general's 1979 Report to Congress in the Congressional Research Service (Moore 1979, 135). The chapter elaborated that "achieving consistency in the . . . refugee program, however, is only part of the broader need to bring consistency to what is currently a patchwork of different federal programs for different refugee groups in the US; program differences are basically inequitable" (Moore 1979, 137). The 1979 Senate Committee on Appropriations made a similar assessment: "The resettlement assistance effort has become a 'crazy quilt' assemblage of overlapping and frequently competing programs" (Moore 1979, 16). Stakeholders emphasized the fragmentation and variability of programmatic, geographic, and agency services. The committee chairperson explained: "Program responsibility has been fragmented between several federal and state agencies. . . . Resettlement programs—using my own word—were a 'hodge podge' of different responses at different times, and not only do we have different programs for different refugee groups, but we also have different agencies administering these programs." The CRS report finds that "the range of services provided to refugees varies from one agency to another, and from case to case within the same agency" (Moore 1979, 18).

Flexibility Needed: "We Need Local Initiative Wisdom Experience"

In direct opposition to the calls for consistency, testimonies argued in favor of flexibility and local control as a rationale for devolved authority.

Representatives of the voluntary agencies called for flexibility to be able to modify services and processes to suit a particular need or situation. "We want legislation that provides flexibility, and one that allows alternative systems of service provision, where needed," stated the Council of Jewish Federations' representative. "Refugee resettlement is an on-the-ground grassroots individual problem solving process. It is casework. We must not lose sight of the individual. National planning but we need local initiative wisdom experience. . . . We must therefore allow for a great deal of flexibility at [the] local level," expressed a representative of the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service. "Flexibility to adapt to varying needs of different refugee groups" is critical, stated the US coordinator for refugee affairs. In his testimony, a representative of Lutheran Social Services was explicit about concerns about decentralization in resettlement programming, while simultaneously seeking flexibility specifically in refugee foster care as part of resettlement services. The Lutheran Social Services representative explained: "The problem is [the] state-federal system. Federal government structures or channels allow it but states are independent in what they want in their boundaries. State-federal communication is broken down. Flexible and alternative foster care plans [are] needed to individualize." Flexibility and local control, which would be facilitated by devolved authority, is linked, of course, to local levels and the private sector, and the consensus on privatization, as discussed, perhaps served to quiet the counterarguments that called for consistency and uniformity as a rationale for centralized governance.

WORKFARE IN THE REFUGEE ACT OF 1980

Arguments both for and against workfare emerged in policy discourse. Some portrayed refugees as dependent, thus serving to rationalize workfare as disincentive for public assistance. Others touted refugees as compliant and diligent workers, thus presenting as counterargument to the need to motivate them to work in the first place. One public administrator called out the lack of evidence to justify the purported dependence of refugees, but this counterfactual did not hold sway in the policy debate. Stakeholders' testimonies were in tension, but those oppositions were not reflected in the final legislation, which mandated work requirements for resettled refugees in exchange for public aid.

Legislated Workfare
The Refugee Act and the Omnibus Act of 1981 both incorporated workfare, but unlike the Omnibus Act, which allowed the option of cash assistance as conditioned on employment, the Refugee Act mandated it. Public aid as conditioned on work is not up to states but is a federal requirement. "Cash assistance provided . . . to an employable refugee is conditioned, except for good cause shown, on the refugees' registration with an appropriate agency providing employment services or . . . and on the refugee's acceptance of appropriate offers of employment," effective after the first 60 days of refugees' arrival (Refugee Act of 1980, 3 USC § 412(e)(2)).

Refugees as Dependent: "They've Developed a Welfare Syndrome"
The dangers and burden of welfare dependence among refugees was explicit and prominent in the congressional hearing. Portraying refugees as dependent justified workfare, which was intended to curtail such dependence. That curtailing in turn would minimize costs, which were also problematized, as discussed in the above section on managerialism. "Refugee resettlement tied to public assistance is inappropriate," stated the American Council of Voluntary Agency representative. "[Refugees] were not previously dependent populations. Using public welfare as mechanism for interim support can be psychologically damaging for refugees and engender a dependency which operates at cross purposes with the objectives of assisting refugees to achieve self sufficiency." "What we're trying to get away from is putting them on welfare initially," stated a professor of social science from Michigan State University. "Some refugees are now permanently on welfare. They've developed a welfare syndrome. Once you develop it, it can be very difficult to get rid of it. The one key factor is the refugee is treated as a poor person. If you treat them as poor people and give Title XX, you're going to push them more in the direction of welfare and less in the direction of being productive citizens." The representative of the Indochinese Education Program, meanwhile, cautioned against the "marked difference in [refugees'] attitudes" about jobs, as she described an education program for adult refugees. "In the beginning, the attitude . . . was negative about cash assistance. . . . It was a great embarrassment," she said, but refugees started to refuse job offers, and so she recommended that cash assistance be terminated when refugees refuse jobs. Refugees ought "to be taxpayers as soon as possible in appropriate way, number one, because

there's a limit in federal funds," stated the Council of Jewish Federations representative.

Several stakeholders at the hearing testified about refugees' dependence, but there seemed to be a lack of supporting evidence, according to the division director of US GAO, which assessed resettlement programs. "No studies about welfare caseload for refugees; states don't know how long refugees receive cash assistance," stated that director, whose testimony offered detail. The only available information, a study of a sample of Vietnamese refugees, did not support the claim that refugees were largely dependent on welfare. A majority, about 66 percent, of the Vietnamese refugees were in the labor force, while only 11 percent of Vietnamese households were receiving public assistance. Many refugees accessed assistance as a supplement; they were employed but not making enough to be out of poverty. About 80 percent of employed refugees earned less than $200 per week. The chairman of the Citizens Commission on Indochinese Refugees concurred, explaining that "a significantly higher portion of the refugees find themselves turning to assistance funds to supplement the very low earnings . . . food stamps and other supplementary forms of assistance." These counterarguments were not taken up further in the hearing, however.

Refugees as Good Workers: Refugees Are "Willing to Work at the Most Menial Levels" and "Accept Welfare with Heavy Heart"

Incongruent with the portrayal of refugees' dependence was several other testimonies' parallel depiction of refugees as mostly employed and diligent workers. Portraying refugees as good workers rendered the argument that they needed to be incentivized to work via workfare erroneous. The HEW secretary said that "new refugees are enriching this nation. What stands out is their eagerness to contribute." "We also see an industrious people whose employment record more than matches the employment record of our own population," said the representative of the National Coalition for Refugee Resettlement, a coalition of voluntary agencies and local and national public entities including state governments. The attorney general shared in a personal reflection: "I've seen them around Atlanta and they're working hard. Some of them haven't been there long, and they're already grocery store men. And it may be we're gaining money. You know, the work ethic is a great thing in our country." "[Vietnamese refugees] have already established a reputation for being industrious and reliable workers," the US GAO director concurred. The Indochinese member of the National

Coalition for Refugee Resettlement seemed to agree, stating: "[Refugees] accept welfare with heavy heart. They don't want to be a public burden." Refugees were also discussed as docile workers who are willing to take any job. Refugees are "willing to take survival-type jobs" and "willing to work at the most menial level," stated the HEW director and a National Coalition for Refugee Resettlement representative, respectively. The latest wave of Vietnamese arrivals at the time were "less educated . . . more illiterate, more unexposed to Western culture," and thus they were more motivated to work, said the HEW director. "It would be impossible for me to get [Americans] to take some of the jobs that refugees take," stated the civil rights advocate of the Citizens Commission on Indochinese Refugees.

DISCUSSION

Market-based rationale and strategies became the basis for most social policy in the neoliberalizing policy environment of the early 1980s (Ong 2006; Prasad 2006; Katz 2013). This study's findings suggest that federal refugee resettlement policy in the Refugee Act of 1980 was no exception. Devolution of authority, privatization, managerialism, and workfare were constitutive of and legislated in the Refugee Act of 1980 in a manner that is parallel to, if not arguably more consolidated than, the manner in which these same elements were incorporated 1 year later in the Omnibus Act of 1981, which is considered the forerunner to the 1996 welfare reforms.

My findings illustrate how language in the refugee policy arena served to rationalize and promote neoliberal practice in refugee resettlement as poverty governance. There was clear consensus for the key and historic role of private entities, as strong validation for privatization. Testimonies likewise cohered around warranting managerial processes to administer the huge costs and complex tasks of resettlement services. Contradictions emerged with regard to workfare and devolution of authority, however. Refugees' dependence on welfare was problematized, but refugees were also depicted as good and docile workers, thus providing concurrent validations both for and against workfare. Likewise, simultaneous rationale for both the pros and the cons of devolving authority were presented in discourse. These contradictions were not reflected in the final legislation, however. Stakeholders' testimonies diverged on ideas pertaining to devolution and workfare, but they converged on those related to privatization and managerialism, which combine as marketization. Neoliberal discourse spreads unevenly

across different social positions of speakers, reflecting the varied interests and positions of the various stakeholders in the bureaucratic field of refugee resettlement, for example, those of state versus those of nonprofit agencies. Contradictions in the discourse, however, did not reflect that unevenness based on stakeholders' different positions. My findings reveal the dynamic, complex ways through which political discourse coheres into the resultant legislation.

This historical analysis highlights the refugee as discursively situated in specific historical contexts. Refugees were considered only in relation to Communism during the Cold War (Hamlin and Wolgin 2012), were seen as dependent or docile workers in the market-oriented era at the turn of the century, and are now feared as radical Muslims in today's atmosphere of terrorism and securitization. The parallels between shifts in portrayals of the refugee and corresponding shifts in policy help reveal the politics of language and the discursively contingent ways through which refugees as subjects and policies, and thus policy outcomes, are shaped and reshaped. The so-called "refugee crisis" presents the refugee as an intractable global problem, and admitting refugees into domestic space seems inescapable, owing perhaps as much to geopolitical commitments as to humanitarian obligations. By posing the resettled refugee as an economic subject rather than a rights-bearing individual, refugee policy as a neoliberal practice perhaps serves as a permissible compromise that accommodates that unavoidable imperative that is refugee resettlement.

Market fundamentalism or neoliberalism as state practice alters notions of citizenship (Ong 2006; Somers 2008; Wacquant 2010; Katz 2013). Neoliberalism "(dis)articulates citizenship," whereby "components formerly tied to citizenship—rights, entitlements—are becoming disarticulated from one another and rearticulated with governing strategies that promote an economic logic in defining, evaluating, and protecting certain categories of subjects and not others" (Ong 2006, 16). De jure, or rightful, citizenship becomes contractualized and commodified under market fundamentalism, leading to a retreat of the social state and its attending protections and supports (Somers 2008). In Somers's theoretical reconsideration of American citizenship, she argues that rights-based citizenship is premised on social inclusion, on "meaningful membership in civil society and political community—that confers recognition and rights" (Somers 2008, 118). That "existentially foundational right" (Somers 2008, 6), upon which civil, political, social, and cultural rights hinge, did not apply to newly resettled

refugees, however. As outsiders and as would-be citizens still in formation, refugees were perhaps taken for granted as not fully deserving, and their rights and entitlements were assumed to be conditioned upon their obligations and duties to the state. Refugees' relation to the social state was thus contractualized in the first place, and vulnerable to commodification.

Designated for a group of noncitizens with no legitimatized social citizenship claims in the United States and who offered no political resistance, the landmark legislation of refugee resettlement, written in precisely that moment of institutional formation and in an era of market-oriented shifts in policy, presented itself as a perfect storm that facilitated both the adoption and normalization of neoliberal practice in poverty governance. My findings posit that the treatment of resettled refugees by the Refugee Act of 1980 prefigures how neoliberalism "remake(s) the nexus between market, state and citizenship" (Wacquant 2010, 213), in relation to poverty governance specifically. That the same neoliberal governing strategies in refugee policy find their way into welfare policy, sharing similar functions and modalities, is suggestive not only of institutional and policy path dependence but also of transplantation of disarticulated citizenship from refugees who are not citizens onto welfare recipients who are. "Three decades of what has become market-driven governance are transforming growing numbers of once rights-bearing citizens into socially excluded internally rightless and stateless persons" (Somers 2008, 2), a description befitting many resettled refugees.

Social welfare policies, as neoliberal regulatory practice, have been analyzed for far-reaching and profound human consequences. Over 35 years after the passing of the Refugee Act, academic inquiries and government assessments of current resettlement practice indicate parallel outcomes. Some refugee scholars have called into question the predominance of fast-track employment for refugees as a policy aim (see US Government Accountability Office 2011, 2012; Connolly 2013), the marketized management and incentivized funding structures (see Trudeau 2008; Erickson 2010), and decentralized resettlement programming (see Zetter, Griffiths, and Sigona 2005). This article helps synthesize a more particular argument about the work-focused, devolved, and marketized modes of policy and practice with refugees. Juxtaposing refugee policy with welfare policy suggests new insights and opens up new lines of theoretical and empirical inquiry on how the two policy arenas may inform one another. This policy discourse helps contour the theoretical underpinnings for resettlement

practice and policy, while it locates refugee studies in a conversation with the broader scholarship about neoliberalism, social welfare, and citizenship.

APPENDIX A

Data Sources

The Refugee Act of 1980, Pub. L. No. 96–212, 94 Stat. 102 (1980).

1981 Administrative Directive of the US Department of Health, Education, and Welfare on the Refugee Act of 1980.

1981 Code of Federal Regulations for the Refugee Act of 1980.

The Refugee Act of 1979: Hearing before the Subcommittee on Immigration, Refugees, and International Law, Committee on the Judiciary, Congress, 96th Cong. 1 (1979).

1979 Report by the Congressional Research Service for the Committee on the Judiciary of the US Senate: A Review of US Refugee Resettlement Programs.

House and Senate Report: Refugee Act of 1979, Committee on the Judiciary, House. Congressional Publication Number H. Rpt. 96-608.

House and Senate Report: Refugee Act of 1979, Committee on the Judiciary, Senate. Congressional Publication Number S. Rpt. 96-256.

APPENDIX B

Data Sources Search Process

First, a search for documents about the hearings related to the Act was conducted, with search term title "Refugee Act of 1979" and specifying term document type "hearings." The search retrieved three documents. The first document was "Hearings before the Subcommittee on Immigration, Refugees, and International Law of the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, 96th Congress, held May 3, 10, 16, 23, and 24, 1979." The second document was "US Senate Hearing before the Committee on the Judiciary, Held March 14, 1979." The congressional hearing was included in the sample but not the Senate hearing. This was deemed appro-

priate because all agencies represented in testimony in the Senate hearing were also represented in the congressional hearings. Further, testimonies were more diverse and more full in the congressional hearing, which took place over 5 days versus 1 day for the Senate hearing. The third document was excluded as it did not pertain to domestic resettlement but to admissions: "Congressional Hearings before the Subcommittee on International Operations, Committee on Foreign Affairs, Held September 25, 1979."

Second, a search for other policy documents about the hearings related to the Act was conducted, with search in all fields except full text: "refugee resettlement"; specifying term year: "1979"; and excluding term document type: "hearings." This search retrieved three documents, all included in the sample: two House and Senate Reports and one Committee Print, "1979 Report by the Congressional Research Service (CRS) for the Committee on the Judiciary of the US Senate: A Review of US Refugee Resettlement Programs." The former two documents were brief administrative reports. The latter Committee Print is a compendium of previously published reports on refugee resettlement. Included in that compendium are "The Comptroller General's Report to the Congress of the United States: the Indochinese Exodus: A Humanitarian Dilemma," published April 24, 1979, and the academic article "Occupational Adjustment of Refugees: the Vietnamese in the United States," published in the *International Migration Review*, spring 1979. All text data in the findings not referenced from the legislation and hearings were retrieved from the 1979 CRS report (Moore 1979).

APPENDIX C

Categorization Frames

For *workfare*: "work," "public assistance," "cash assistance," "welfare assistance," "employment," "job," "worker," "labor," and, later added: "burden" and "dependent."

For *privatization*: "private" or "non-profit" organization or agency, "public-private partnership," and, later added: "history."

For *managerialism*: "manage," "business," "compliance," "outcomes," "measures," "accountability," and, later added: "cost-efficiency," and "cost" or "expense."

For *devolution of authority*: "devolution of authority," "oversight," "state or local government," and, later added: "equitable," "uniform," "consistent," and "flexible."

I excluded the section of the Act, Title II Admission of Refugees, and text related to refugee admissions, human rights, and international or foreign affairs or related to redefining the legal term "refugee."

REFERENCES

Abramovitz, Mimi, and Jennifer Zelnick. 2015. "Privatization in the Human Services: Implications for Direct Practice." *Clinical Social Work Journal* 43 (2): 283–93.

Bainbridge, Jay, Marcia Meyers, and Jane Waldfogel. 2003. "Child Care Policy Reform and the Employment of Single Mothers." *Social Science Quarterly* 84 (4): 771–91.

Barkdull, Carenlee, Bret Weber, Amy Swart, and Amy Phillips. 2012. "The Changing Context of Refugee Resettlement Policy and Programs in the United States." *Journal of International Social Issues* 1 (1): 107–19.

Benish, Avishai. 2010. "Re-bureaucratizing Welfare Administration." *Social Service Review* 84 (1): 77–101.

Bertrand, Melanie. 2016. "Youth Participatory Action Research and Educational Transformation: The Potential of Intertextuality as a Methodological Tool." *Urban Review* 48:15–31.

Black, Richard. 2001. "Fifty Years of Refugee Studies: From Theory to Policy." *International Migration Review* 5 (1): 57–78.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1998. "Utopia of Endless Exploitation: The Essence of Neoliberalism." *Le Monde Diplomatique*, December.

Breitkreuz, Rhonda, and Deanna Williamson. 2012. "The Self-Sufficiency Trap: A Critical Examination of Welfare-to-Work." *Social Service Review* 86 (4): 660–89.

Brenner, Neil, Jamie Peck, and Nik Theodore. 2010. "Variegated Neoliberalization: Geographies, Modalities, Pathways." *Global Networks* 10 (2): 182–222.

Brenner, Neil, and Nik Theodore. 2002. "Cities and the Geographies of 'Actually Existing Neoliberalism.'" *Antipode* 34:349–79.

Brodkin, Evelyn. 1997. "Inside the Welfare Contract: Discretion and Accountability in State Welfare Administration." *Social Service Review* 71 (1): 1–33.

———. 2011. "Policy Work: Street-Level Organizations under New Managerialism." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 21 (suppl. 2): 253–77.

Brown, Hana. 2013. "The New Racial Politics of Welfare: Ethno-Racial Diversity, Immigration, and Welfare Discourse Variation." *Social Service Review* 87 (3): 586–612.

Cherlin, Andrew, Karen Bogen, James Quane, and Linda Burton. 2002. "Operating within the Rules: Welfare Recipients' Experiences with Sanctions and Case Closings." *Social Service Review* 76 (3): 387–405.

Connolly, Katrina. 2013. "The Importance of Place for Refugee Employment in the US: A Comparative Case Study." PhD diss., George Washington University, Washington, DC.

Curran, Laura. 2002. "The Psychology of Poverty: Professional Social Work and Aid to Dependent Children in Postwar America, 1946–1963." *Social Service Review* 76 (3): 365–86.

Darrow, Jessica. 2015. "The (Re)Construction of the U.S. Department of State's Reception and Placement Program by Refugee Resettlement Agencies." *Journal of the Society for Social Work and Research* 6 (1): 91–119.

Daugherty, Robert, and Gerard Barber. 2001. "Self-Sufficiency, Ecology of Work, and Welfare Reform." *Social Service Review* 75 (4): 662–75.

Elo, Satu, and Helvi Kyngas. 2008. "The Qualitative Content Analysis Process." *Journal of Advanced Nursing* 62 (1): 107–15.

Erickson, Jennifer. 2010. "Citizenship, Refugees and the State: Bosnians, Southern Sudanese and Social Service Organizations in Fargo, North Dakota." PhD diss., University of Oregon, Department of Anthropology.

Fairclough, Norman. 1992. *Discourse and Social Change.* Cambridge: Polity.

Fording, Richard, Joe Soss, and Sanford Schram. 2007. "Devolution, Discretion and the Effect of Local Political Values on TANF Sanctioning." *Social Service Review* 81 (2): 285–316.

Fraser, Nancy, and Linda Gordon. 1994. "A Genealogy of Dependency: Tracing a Keyword of the U.S. Welfare State." *Signs* 19 (2): 309–36.

Gilens, Martin. 1999. *Race, Media and the Politics of Antipoverty Policy.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Gray, Mel, Mitchell Dean, Kylie Agllias, Amanda Howard, and Leanne Schubert. 2015. "Perspectives on Neoliberalism for Human Service Professionals." *Social Service Review* 89 (2): 368–92.

Hamlin, Rebecca, and Philip Wolgin. 2012. "Symbolic Politics and Policy Feedback: The United Nations Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees and American Refugee Policy in the Cold War." *International Migration Review* 46 (3): 586–624.

Harlow, Elizabeth. 2003. "New Managerialism, Social Service Departments and Social Work Practice Today." *Practice* 15 (2): 29–44.

Hartwig, Mervyn, ed. 2006. *Dictionary of Critical Realism.* London: Routledge.

Harvey, David. 2005. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hasenfeld, Yeheskel. 2010. "Organizational Responses to Social Policy: The Case of Welfare Reform." *Administration in Social Work* 34 (2): 148–67.

Hasenfeld, Yeheskel, and Eve Garrow. 2012. "Nonprofit Human-Service Organizations, Social Rights, and Advocacy in a Neoliberal Welfare State." *Social Service Review* 862 (2): 295–322.

Katz, Michael. 2013. *The Undeserving Poor: America's Enduring Confrontation with Poverty.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Kettl, Donald. 2005. *The Transformation of Governance: Public Administration for Twenty-First Century America.* 2nd ed. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

Kissane, Rebecca. 2006. "Responsible but Uninformed? Nonprofit Executive and Program Directors' Knowledge of Welfare Reform." *Social Service Review* 80 (2): 322–45.

Kristeva, Julia. 1986. "Word, Dialogue, and Novel." 34–61 in *The Kristeva Reader*, edited by Toril Moi. New York: Columbia University Press.

Lynn, Laurence, Jr. 2002. "Social Services and the State: The Public Appropriation of Private Charity." *Social Service Review* 76 (1): 58–82.

Moffitt, Robert. 1984. "Assessing the Effects of the 1981 Federal AFDC Legislation on the Work Effort of Welfare Recipients: A Framework for Analysis and the Evidence to Date." Discussion Paper no. 742-84, Institute for Research on Poverty, University of Wisconsin–Madison.

Moore, Charlotte J. 1979. *A Review of US Refugee Resettlement Programs.* SN 052 070 05409 3. US Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, Washington, DC.

Moscovice, Ira, and William Craig. 1984. "The Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act and the Working Poor." *Social Service Review* 58 (1): 49–62.

Moylan, Carrie, and Taryn Lindhorst. 2015. "Institutionalizing an Ethic of Coordinated Care for Rape Victims: Exploring Processes of Legitimacy and Decoupling in Sexual Assault Response Teams." *Social Service Review* 89 (1): 138–65.

Nawyn, Stephanie. 2006. "Faith, Ethnicity and Culture in Refugee Resettlement." *American Behavioral Scientist* 49 (11): 1509–27.

Ong, Aihwa. 2003. *Buddha Is Hiding: Refugees, Citizenship, the New America.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

———. 2006. *Neoliberalism as Exception: Mutations in Citizenship and Sovereignty.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Park, Yoosun, and Susan P. Kemp. 2006. "'Little Alien Colonies': Representations of Immigrants and Their Neighborhoods in Social Work Discourse, 1875–1924." *Social Service Review* 80 (4): 705–34.

Piven, Frances Fox. 2003. "Why Welfare Is Racist." 323–36 in *Race and the Politics of Welfare Reform,* edited by Sanford Schram, Joe Soss, and Richard C. Fording. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Prasad, Monica. 2006. *The Politics of Free Markets.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Reisch, Michael, and David Sommerfeld. 2002. "Race, Welfare Reform, and Nonprofit Organizations." *Journal of Sociology and Sociology Welfare* 29 (1): 155–77.

Somers, Margaret. 2008. *Genealogies of Citizenship: Markets, Statelessness, and the Right to Have Rights.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Soss, Joe, Richard Fording, and Sanford Schram. 2011. *Disciplining the Poor: Neoliberal Paternalism and the Persistent Power of Race.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Toft, Jessica. 2010. "The Political Act of Public Talk: How Legislators Justified Welfare Reform." *Social Service Review* 84 (4): 563–96.

Trudeau, Daniel. 2008. "Junior Partner or Empowered Community? The Role of Non-profit Social Service Providers amidst State Restructuring in the US." *Urban Studies* 45 (13): 2805–27.

US Congress Senate Committee on the Judiciary. 1979. The Refugee Act of 1979: Hearing before the Subcommittee on Immigration, Refugees, and International Law. 96th Cong., 1st sess., May 3, 10, 16, 23, and 24.

US Government Accountability Office. 2011. *Refugee Assistance: Little Is Known about the Effectiveness of Different Approaches for Improving Refugees' Employment Outcomes.* GAO 11-369, Washington, DC. http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d11369.pdf.

———. 2012. *Refugee Assistance: Greater Consultation with Community Stakeholders Could Strengthen Program.* GAO 12-729, Washington, DC. http://www.gao.gov.assets/600/592975.pdf.

VanDijk, Teun. 1998. "Critical Discourse Analysis." 352–71 in *Handbook of Discourse Analysis,* edited by Deborah Schiffrin, Deborah Tannen, and Heidi E. Hamilton. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Wacquant, Loic. 2009. *Punishing the Poor: Neoliberal Government of Social Insecurity.* Chapel Hill, NC: Duke University Press.

———. 2010. "Crafting the Neoliberal State: Workfare, Prisonfare, and Social Insecurity." *Sociological Forum* 259 (2): 197–220.

Whorton, Brad. 1997. "The Transformation of Refugee Policy: Race, Welfare, and the American Political Culture, 1959–1997." PhD diss., University of Kansas, Department of Sociology.

Wilson, John. 2003. "Political Discourse." 398–415 in *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, edited by Deborah Schiffrin, Deborah Tannen, and Heidi E. Hamilton. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Woolford, Andrew, and Amanda Nelund. 2013. "The Responsibilities of the Poor: Performing Neoliberal Citizenship within the Bureaucratic Field." *Social Service Review* 87 (2): 292–318.

Zetter, Roger, David Griffiths, and Nando Sigona. 2005. "Social Capital or Social Exclusion? The Impact of Asylum-Seeker Dispersal on UK Refugee Community Organizations." *Community Development Journal* 40 (2): 169–81.

Zucker, Norman. 1983. "The Global Refugee Problem: U.S. and World Response." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 467:172–86.

"Uphill All the Way": Grace Abbott and Women's Work in Building the Welfare State

ANYA JABOUR
University of Montana

ABSTRACT This essay reviews the memoir-biography of pioneering social worker and public servant Grace Abbott, *A Sister's Memories: The Life and Work of Grace Abbott from the Writings of Her Sister, Edith Abbott,* edited by John Sorensen. It discusses what Abbott's career in public service reveals about women's historic role in early social work from the Progressive Era through the New Deal, comments on parallels to contemporary political issues such as immigration policies and income disparities, and reflects on women's distinctive place in national politics during a history-making presidential election campaign.

Grace Abbott, the daughter of Nebraska pioneers, dedicated herself to another kind of pioneer work: social work. As the head of Chicago's Immigrants' Protective League, chief of the US Children's Bureau, and a member of the Council on Economic Security (the entity charged with designing the Social Security Act, among other roles), Abbott fought to protect the rights and advance the interests of the most vulnerable members of American society throughout the first three decades of the twentieth century. *A Sister's Memories: The Life and Work of Grace Abbott from the Writings of her Sister, Edith Abbott,* edited by John Sorensen (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), tells the story of this remarkable woman's life through the writings of her sister Edith, herself a social welfare scholar and founding editor of the *Social Service Review.*

In her lifetime, Abbott achieved national and international recognition for her leadership in social welfare, serving as president of the National Conference of Social Work and on the League of Nations' Advisory Committee on Traffic in Women and Children. As the most outspoken advocate of the

controversial Child Labor Amendment, Abbott achieved infamy as well as fame, becoming a popular target for red-baiting by conservative groups and publications such as the American Medical Association, the National Association of Manufacturers, and the *Woman Patriot*. After her death in 1939, when paying tribute to the lasting influence of her work in designing measures to regulate child labor, provide affordable health care, and establish public support for poor families, the *Washington (DC) Evening Star* asserted: "Her fame . . . was not temporary. . . . Her inspiration is a living force now and forever" (Sorensen 2015, 2; henceforth, unless otherwise stated, page numbers given in parentheses refer to those of the book under review).

However, Grace Abbott's fame soon faded. Unlike some of her well-known contemporaries and colleagues, such as Hull House founder Jane Addams and First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, Abbott is not a household name—not even among the social activists and social workers who now build on the foundation she helped to construct. With the publication of *A Sister's Memories*, John Sorensen—serving as a sort of amanuensis for Grace Abbott's sister Edith—aims to correct this oversight.

Edith Abbott, Grace's older sister, also was an important figure in early social work and in early twentieth-century social reform. The sisters were both residents of Hull House, a veritable training ground for social justice activists, and graduates of the University of Chicago, which produced the first generation of professionally trained female social scientists. The combination of higher education and settlement work allowed a remarkable group of women reformers—including such luminaries as Sophonisba Breckinridge, Florence Kelley, and Julia Lathrop, as well as Jane Addams and the Abbott sisters—to transform the Second City into a laboratory for social reform and, subsequently, to bring their ideas to bear on national politics through their close association with federal agencies such as the US Children's Bureau and the US Women's Bureau, as well as their leadership in women's organizations such as the National Consumers League and the League of Women Voters. *A Sister's Memories* (Sorensen 2015) gives readers an intimate look into this nearly forgotten world of women's reform activity.

One reason that this world has remained hidden for so long is that many of its key players did not leave compelling first-hand accounts of their work. Jane Addams was, among other things, a consummate publicist. Her *Twenty Years at Hull-House* (1912) helped her to raise funds for the house and its activities in her lifetime; it remains a classic text, available in inexpensive editions for classroom use; and it is chock-full of insightful com-

mentary and touching anecdotes that appeal to a broad audience. *A Sister's Memories* similarly is designed to appeal to general readers. While academics may be put off by the lack of scholarly apparatus—I myself find the lack of an index to be singularly trying—the conversational tone of the manuscript and the personal stories it contains make the book a good read as well as an important source.

The credit for this readable volume goes both to Edith Abbott, who died before she could complete her intended four-volume memoir-biography, and to Sorensen, who has painstakingly assembled *A Sister's Memories* from multiple versions of the extant manuscript held in far-flung repositories. Sorensen relied on the articles that Edith Abbott published in the *Social Service Review* in 1939 and 1950 (Abbott 1939, 1950*a*, 1950*b*) for guidance as to her authorial intent and style. He expanded the previously published essays by incorporating additional information from Edith Abbott's draft manuscripts, particularly for the first two parts of the present book (the first two volumes of the planned four volumes), "A Prairie Childhood" and "The Hull House Years." For the third part of the book, "The Crusade for Children," Sorensen drew heavily on his own long familiarity with Grace Abbott's life and writings, gleaned from decades of research for radio programs and print publications about her, to create a coherent narrative from Edith Abbott's research files (approximately 1,000 pages of raw material, such as newspaper articles and speech scripts) for the third volume she envisioned. For the intended fourth volume, "The Undying Fire," unfortunately, Edith Abbott left behind only a rough chapter outline, which is in this volume as an appendix. It is to be hoped that the interest generated by *A Sister's Memories* will lead Sorensen or another scholar to address this portion of the project, covering Grace Abbott's work on the Social Security Act, her involvement in partisan politics during the New Deal, and her participation in internationalist circles in Geneva and in Latin America.

The book's three completed portions are quite distinct. Part 1 relates the Abbott sisters' childhood on the Nebraska plains and explores the origins of Grace Abbott's dedication to social welfare. Growing up just a mile from the Overland Trail, the Abbott sisters embraced the pioneer spirit, which they understood to mean envisioning "the long future" (32), understanding "that the impossible was, after all, possible" (91), and persisting in the face of adversity. For Grace Abbott, who would face harsh criticism and repeated setbacks in her long career of social reform, these lessons would prove ex-

tremely valuable. As a girl, she adopted the mantra of a "homestead wife" who had come to her father for legal counsel: "I won't give up; and I won't be druv out!" (64).

Both parents—Othman Abbott, a Civil War veteran, staunch Republican, and local lawyer, and Elizabeth Griffin Abbott, a devout Quaker and a former schoolteacher—spoke often about their respective families' immigration to the United States and their own migration from Illinois to Nebraska, strengthening the Abbott girls' identification with "the men and women of courage, ability, and boundless energy" who had confronted the "hardships of the covered-wagon days" (19–20). Both parents also imbued their daughters with a strong sense of a family tradition of public service and social justice. The senior Abbotts were confirmed abolitionists. Elizabeth Abbott, who came from a long line of Quaker abolitionists, thrilled her children with tales about her family's work for the Underground Railroad, arranged for them to see a stage performance of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and taught them to recite "John Brown of Ossawatomie." Othman Abbott often told the girls about the exciting political developments leading up to secession and the Civil War and his own experiences in the Union Army. Particularly for Elizabeth Abbott, a birthright Quaker, supporting the rights of African Americans was part of a larger commitment to social justice for all. As Edith Abbott explained: "In Mother's Quaker family, the rights of women belonged with the rights of the Indian and the rights of the Negro. Everyone must be free and equal and everyone should be dealt with on the basis of 'equality and justice'" (55). Othman Abbott also was committed to equal rights, using his legal expertise to protect the rights of German immigrants and debt-ridden farmers alike. "Father always seemed to have the final word about any injustice," Edith Abbott recollected, "and we thought he knew what ought to be done about everything" (74). Grace Abbott would carry these beliefs into her adult life as a social worker and as a public servant.

Part 2, "The Hull House Years," traces Grace Abbott's time at the famous Chicago settlement from her arrival in 1908 until her move to Washington, DC, in 1921 to accept a post as chief of the US Children's Bureau. Progressive-era Chicago provided the Abbott sisters with both opportunities and challenges, allowing them to put the lessons they learned in childhood to good use. This part of the book vividly describes both the terrible conditions confronting Chicago's poor immigrants and the ferment of reform activity undertaken by Hull House residents. "Life was never dull" at

Hull House, Edith Abbott remarked (116). Living amid a predominantly immigrant population on the West Side, dining with a diverse group of reformers who vigorously expressed their views on a wide array of issues, and observing the deplorable conditions of the working poor made it impossible to stand idly by. "Those were the days before there was workmen's compensation; when there was no minimum wage law; a very poor child labor law," Edith Abbott recalled, adding, "a resident in the old Hull House days saw many irreparable injustices that seemed so unnecessary" (124–25).

This segment of the book is replete with individual stories of hardship, discrimination, and, occasionally, redemption. Fascinating in their own right, these personal anecdotes also demonstrate early social workers' growing determination to address injustice in a systematic way by creating policies to prevent problems rather than by blaming the poor for their plight. After an extended effort to assist an abused wife who came to Hull House seeking protection against her alcoholic husband ended with the man in jail on a charge of nonsupport, leaving his wife and five children in a desperate financial situation, Grace and Edith Abbott "always thought that just sending a man to jail was a confession of incompetence. In this case, we had helped send him to jail because we didn't know what to do. 'A poor excuse for us,' was Grace's comment" (123). In later years, Grace and Edith Abbott both would advocate for public assistance for needy families. With Sophonisba Breckinridge, her colleague at the University of Chicago, Edith Abbott helped to design and implement the nation's first "mother's pension" law, a state-level provision that ultimately, with Grace Abbott's participation in the New Deal–era Committee on Economic Security, became a federal program, Assistance to Families with Dependent Children, under the Social Security Act.

"Grace was challenged by the new world that she found on Halsted Street," reflected her sister, "and her imagination, her quick mind, her eagerness to prevent injustice to a friendless group of people, and her organizing and administrative ability found a wide field of service. But she was often deeply moved by the hardships of the new immigrants" (119). Grace Abbott's position as the head of the private immigrant assistance agency originally based at Hull House, the Immigrants' Protective League (IPL), had many dimensions. Offering practical assistance to newcomers to the city was a priority. Many immigrants arriving at Chicago railroad stations fell prey to exploitation by unscrupulous cab drivers and fly-by-night employ-

ment agents who promised to help the new arrivals to find housing and jobs and instead left them stranded and penniless or, in the case of many immigrant girls, forced them into sexual slavery.

One of the success stories included in this section is that of a Bohemian immigrant, Bozena, who took the first job she could find—in a saloon—and then was impregnated and abandoned by her employer. Although Grace Abbott and her colleague Sophonisba Breckinridge, the first woman to earn a law degree at the University of Chicago, were unsuccessful in their efforts to prosecute the saloonkeeper, they assisted Bozena in finding employment, learning English, and becoming a naturalized citizen. Bozena's dramatic story had a conventional happy ending when she responded to an ad in a Bohemian newspaper from a South Dakota farmer seeking a Bohemian wife. Once Abbott had satisfied herself that the man was "a kind man and an honest and successful farmer" (136), Bozena moved West, where she taught her new husband English and kept her benefactors informed about her plans for educating her daughter.

To assist vulnerable newcomers like Bozena, Grace Abbott established "a kind of immigration station" (129) for new arrivals, where they found a comfortable reception area, Immigrants' Protective League (IPL) agents who spoke their language to assist them in making contact with their Chicago relatives, and temporary lodgings for those who did not have relatives. Abbott's agents—speaking Bohemian, Polish, Greek, Yiddish, Bulgarian, Russian, German, and Italian—not only met new arrivals at the station but also conducted follow-up visits in their homes. Abbott personally assisted many immigrants who came directly to Hull House with a wide variety of issues, ranging from learning English to claiming lost wages. She was a tireless advocate for immigrants even as anti-immigrant sentiment grew and immigration policies tightened in the years leading up to World War I. As her sister put it, "She believed in the old tradition of the right of asylum in America, and she impressed many with her statement that a belief in this public policy was not 'radicalism' but a heritage that had been handed down to her by eight generations of American ancestors who had made every sacrifice to establish and to maintain this right" (164). Amid impassioned debates about contemporary immigration policy, today's readers may well find food for thought in Abbott's philosophy on immigration and the American Dream.

In addition to providing immigrants with practical assistance, Grace Abbott helped to design public policy. Crossover between social work at Hull

House and social science at the University of Chicago resulted in what would come to be a hallmark of the university's School of Social Service Administration: public policy proposals based on social science research. In conjunction with Edith Abbott, Sophonisba Breckinridge, and Julia Lathrop at the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy (a private training school for social workers that preceded the School of Social Service Administration), Grace Abbott conducted numerous studies of the immigrant population, using her findings to advocate for federal assistance for immigrants. Eventually, in 1916, after years of lobbying, Congress authorized federal funding for the IPL's immigrant reception building and other similar "interior immigration stations" throughout the country (133). Unfortunately, however, new—and much more restrictive—immigration policies and the United States' entry into World War I rendered this promising program largely irrelevant.

Like other members of the women's reform community that coalesced around Hull House, Grace Abbott had broad interests, including woman suffrage and world peace. But labor issues, which came up frequently in her work with immigrants, were especially important to her. Working with the Chicago chapter of the Women's Trade Union League, which met at Hull House, and with Florence Kelley, a former Hull House resident and president of the National Consumers' League, she lobbied for a 10-hour law for women workers after the similar 8-hour law for women and children was ruled unconstitutional. Not surprisingly, then, in 1917, when Hull House veteran Julia Lathrop, now the first chief of the US Children's Bureau, invited her to oversee the implementation of the nation's first child labor law, Abbott accepted. While the law itself was short-lived, being struck down by the Supreme Court the following year, this connection with the Children's Bureau set the stage for the next phase of Abbott's career. From 1921 until 1934, she served as the second chief of the first federal agency dedicated to the interests of children—an agency also led and staffed primarily by women. As the "Mother of All of Uncle Sam's Children" (215), as one journalist described her, she would dedicate the next 20 years to advancing child welfare on multiple fronts.

Part 3, while arguably the most significant in terms of explicating the work of the Children's Bureau in establishing the American welfare state, lacks the humor and pathos of the first two sections, for here Sorensen had to rely heavily on Edith Abbott's sketchy notes and Grace Abbott's public writings, neither of which contained the sort of personal stories that enliven

the first two parts of the book. Nonetheless, the forcefulness of Grace Abbott's personality comes through clearly as she advocated tirelessly for programs and policies to benefit children, ranging from the beleaguered Sheppard-Towner Act, which established the nation's first public health program, focused on mothers and infants, to the never-enacted Child Labor Amendment, which would have used the federal government's power to monitor interstate commerce to regulate child labor.

Both pieces of progressive legislation encountered strong opposition from businessmen, the medical establishment, and anti-feminists who ridiculed the female staff of the Children's Bureau as meddling "spinsters" and warned that the Bureau was dedicated to "the progress of Feminism and Socialism"—both, evidently, equally dangerous to the body politic (247). The Bureau's programs and proposals also came in for criticism on the basis that they represented unconstitutional infringements upon states' rights, a refrain that would have been familiar to Abbott, who could still remember her father's "explosive indignation when President Cleveland proposed to return the old Confederate battle flags to the South" (30). Finally, self-styled fiscal conservatives objected to the cost of public programs. President Coolidge, who oversaw the dismantling of the Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Health Care Program, condemned the program as overly costly in his 1929 Budget Message. As supporters of the program wryly pointed out, that year the annual budget allocated 14.5 million dollars for agricultural purposes, "but it was the $1,240,000 for mothers and babies that was a dangerous federal subsidy to the presidential conscience." As Edith Abbott aptly observed, "All the objections against federal aid for relief that have been heard again and again in the years since were heard against federal aid for maternity and infancy care" (249). Because of her unwavering support for child welfare programs, Grace Abbott was the target of a great amount of "ridicule and abuse." True to her childhood refusal to either "give up" or be "druv out," however, she persevered. As her sister put it, "She was used to disappointments and defeats and accepted them as part of her way of life. But she never gave up" (280).

Far from yielding to her critics, Abbott devoted much of her time in Washington to publicizing the Bureau's programs and making its research widely available to American citizens. As she put it, "The Children's Bureau was always eager to make available to parents, and particularly to mothers, the information it assembled. We did not want to print reports which the social historian might read some 100 years from now and say the investiga-

tion was well made, and the recommendations valuable, and it was too bad nobody ever heard anything about it at the time the report was made" (253–54). To extend the reach of the Bureau as far as possible, Abbott made use of new technology, such as the radio and the movies, as well as print publications. Many Bureau publications, such as *Infant Care*, were widely distributed. During Abbott's term in office, the Bureau distributed nearly 9 million pamphlets on prenatal, infant, and child care. In a single year, 1926, the Bureau issued 27 new or revised publications, sent 20 more to press, and had 31 in preparation. In that same year, the bureau distributed 1,687,181 publications. Together with Franklin Delano Roosevelt's "Fireside Chats" and Eleanor Roosevelt's "My Day" column, the outreach efforts of the Children's Bureau encouraged the American public to regard the federal government as a source of advice and support.

As the Great Depression deepened, both the Children's Bureau and the entire nation encountered new difficulties. With the support of women's groups such as the National Consumers' League and the Women's Joint Congressional Committee, Abbott weathered President Herbert Hoover's attempt to effectively dismantle the Children's Bureau by shifting its health programs to the Public Health Service. But she remained an outspoken critic of the president's disappointingly lackluster response to the ever-worsening economic crisis. Abbott was convinced that the fundamental problem was the unequal distribution of wealth in the country. Prior to the Stock Market Crash of 1929, she pointed out, 13 percent of the population owned 90 percent of the country's wealth, while 87 percent of the population held only 10 percent of the nation's wealth. Contemporary critics of wealth disparities may well nod in recognition as they read Abbott's dry remark: "When you divide 10 percent of the wealth among 87 percent of the people, the quotient is very small" (331). And surely many observers of the American economy would still find value in Abbott's contention that the US government must regulate capitalism so as to avoid repeated cycles of business depression. As Abbott proclaimed during the depths of the depression: "No one can accept as inevitable an industrial organization which means that in each generation children will have to bear the burden that they are bearing now" (333).

Abbott was unable to bring these ideas to bear on federal policy until after her departure from the Children's Bureau in 1934, when she returned to Chicago to accept a faculty position in the School of Social Service Administration at the University of Chicago alongside her sister, Edith, and

their close friend and colleague, Sophonisba Breckinridge, who along with Edith cofounded the *Social Service Review* (see fig. 1 and fig. 2). While Grace Abbott both taught courses in social work at the University of Chicago and edited the *Social Service Review,* the first professional journal of social work, her attention remained focused on how best to create a comprehensive plan for economic security for all Americans, especially children. Although part 4, which would have detailed Abbott's work with President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's Committee for Economic Security, remains unwritten, earlier in the volume, Edith Abbott expressed the convictions of the circle of Hull House social reformers that underlay the Abbott sisters' shared commitment to creating a national welfare state: "They wanted federal aid and federal legislation because it would benefit the whole nation in a much shorter time than the slow-moving state legislation" (111).

A Sister's Memories offers a reevaluation of the past, reflections on the present, and a roadmap to the future. For historians of social work and the welfare state, this book is a valuable reminder of the essential groundwork

FIGURE 1. Sophonisba Breckinridge (left) and Edith Abbott (right). Photograph by Bernard Hoffman. Image from the University of Chicago Photographic Archive, apf1-00008, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library. Reproduced with permission.

FIGURE 2. Edith Abbott (left) and Grace Abbott (right). Image from the University of Chicago Photographic Archive, apf1-00009, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library. Reproduced with permission.

that women like Grace Abbott laid for the creation of the welfare state decades before the adoption of the Social Security Act in 1935. "Why should we study the history of social welfare?" Edith Abbott inquired. "Because the trial-and-error method is very costly when the welfare of human beings is at stake. Because it is important to avoid the mistake of trying a plan that is new only to the person who does not know history. A repetition of mistakes can often be avoided by the use of history—a much better method than experimenting with human beings" (4–5).

For observers of contemporary politics, A Sister's Memories offers pertinent parallels to the present. As the nation struggles with its most severe economic downturn since the Great Depression and citizens and politicians alike struggle to find workable solutions in the face of disillusionment and division, readers may find guidance in Grace Abbott's words: "I have little patience with self-criticism and criticism of others in an emergency situation such as we now face. We have to meet it with the full intelligence in organization that we regard as characteristically American" (350–51).

For American citizens, Grace Abbott's story serves as a prelude to the presidential campaign now in progress. As Hillary Clinton launches her campaign for the presidency—the first woman to do so on a major party ticket—with a strong emphasis on her lifelong commitment to children and families, American voters are once again asked to contemplate both the meaning of democracy and women's distinctive role within American politics. When they go to the polls in November, voters will have the opportunity to decide if they agree with Abbott's pronouncement, in one of her last speeches before her retirement from the Children's Bureau, that "justice for all children" is the chief goal of a democracy, and that women bear "special responsibility" for achieving this "great objective" (4). Should Clinton succeed in her bid for the highest office in the land, she might well look to the indomitable Grace Abbott—who endured ridicule, suffered defeat, and refused to give up—for inspiration. "Perhaps you may ask, 'Does the road lead uphill all the way?'" Abbott asked her audience. "And I must answer, 'Yes, to the very end.' But if I offer you a long, hard struggle, I can also promise you great rewards" (4).

NOTE

Anya Jabour is a professor of history at the University of Montana. Her current research project is a biography of social work educator and social justice activist Sophonisba Breckinridge.

REFERENCES

Abbott, Edith. 1939. "A Sister's Memories." *Social Service Review* 13 (3): 351–407.

———. 1950*a*. "Grace Abbott and Hull House, 1908–21: Part I." *Social Service Review* 24 (3): 374–94.

———. 1950*b*. "Grace Abbott and Hull House, 1908–21: Part II." *Social Service Review* 24 (4): 493–518.

Addams, Jane. 1912. *Twenty Years at Hull House, with Autobiographical Notes*. New York: Macmillan.

Sorensen, John, ed. 2015. *A Sister's Memories: The Life and Work of Grace Abbott from the Writings of her Sister, Edith Abbott*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

ESSAY REVIEW

Putting *No Child Left Behind* behind Us: Rethinking Education and Inequality

DARNELL LEATHERWOOD
University of Chicago

CHARLES PAYNE
University of Chicago

ABSTRACT This essay examines four books that may offer some insight into the post–*No Child Left Behind* (NCLB) discussion about educational policy, reform, and performance. Collectively *The Allure of Order: High Hopes, Dashed Expectations, and the Troubled Quest to Remake American Schooling*, by Jal Mehta, *Too Many Children Left Behind: The US Achievement Gap in Comparative Perspective*, by Bruce Bradbury, Miles Corak, Jane Waldfogel, and Elizabeth Washbrook, *Despite the Best Intentions: How Racial Inequality Thrives in Good Schools*, by Amanda E. Lewis and John B. Diamond, and *Toxic Schools: High-Poverty Education in New York and Amsterdam*, by Bowen Paulle, show that concerns with school accountability are now embedded in broader discussions about the importance of investing in children, families, and schools and how the internal dynamics of schools either support or frustrate those investments. We hope that these works represent a trend toward less ahistorical and reductionist and more empirically grounded thinking than that which drove NCLB.

The ambitious *No Child Left Behind* legislation (NCLB) was enacted in 2001 at a moment of bipartisan support for accountability and sanctions for poorly performing schools. It remains an apt symbol of how the discussion on education and inequality has been framed over the last couple of decades. Its recent demise may signal a moment of recalibration, or perhaps only another round of old ideas in education being renamed and repackaged. Four recently published books—*The Allure of Order: High Hopes, Dashed Expectations, and the Troubled Quest to Remake American Schooling,* by Jal Mehta (Oxford University Press, 2013); *Too Many Children Left Behind: The US Achievement Gap in Comparative Perspective,* by Bruce Bradbury, Miles Corak, Jane Waldfogel, and Elizabeth Washbrook (Russell Sage Foundation, 2015);

Despite the Best Intentions: How Racial Inequality Thrives in Good Schools, by Amanda E. Lewis and John B. Diamond (Oxford University Press, 2015); and *Toxic Schools: High-Poverty Education in New York and Amsterdam*, by Bowen Paulle (University of Chicago Press, 2013)—may offer some hints at what the discussion might look like post–NCLB.

Jal Mehta's *The Allure of Order* takes NCLB as its point of departure, arguing that the legislation's limited effectiveness should not have been surprising given the long history of similar top-down efforts to rationalize schools and reorder them along more business-like lines. The Progressive movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the standards-based reform movement of the 1960s and 1970s, and the more recent movement symbolized by NCLB shared, by Mehta's judgment, a history of disappointing results, leading to the book's central question: "Why have American reformers repeatedly invested such high hopes in these instruments of control despite their track record of mixed results at best? What assumptions . . . underlie these repeated attempts to 'rationalize' schooling?" (Mehta 2013, 2).

We suspect that Mehta's premise that the long history of poor results in public education stems from business-like school reforms will not meet with universal accord. He does not provide a systematic presentation of the evidence to support the conclusion that attempts to rationalize schools have failed; it is essentially argument by assertion. Some critics might point out that reforms with other philosophical foundations do not necessarily have such a proud history either. Some may hesitate at the assertion, even with the author's careful qualifications, that something reasonably called a standards-based movement existed in the 1960s and 1970s. Mehta's relatively favorable stance toward portfolio districts—school districts that include a variety of school types, including charters and traditional schools, and perhaps for-profit schools—will strike some as a curveball, since advocates for portfolio districts also tend to be advocates for the reforms Mehta spends the book criticizing.

Even those who question some of Mehta's premises, however, are likely to profit from his elegant historical detail and careful conceptualizations. One important example of the latter is the chapter showing that an idea like standards-based reform works out to mean one thing in a blue state like Maryland, another in a purple state like Michigan, and something still different in a red state like Utah. Similarly, his emphasis on the robustness of reforms—in his terms, how "thick" or "thin" they are—introduces a way of

thinking about change that receives far too little attention. Above all, many readers will appreciate the intellectual force behind what may be the book's most important contention: we are currently going at the problem backwards, emphasizing sanctions and controls at the end of the process, driven by student outcomes. We would be far better off investing more heavily on the front end, by recruiting teachers more carefully, compensating them better, providing real and constant opportunities for professional growth, and then entrusting the improvement of schools to them rather than to ever-more stringent regulations. In sum, we should raise teaching to the level of a real profession.

The other three books reviewed in this essay do not necessarily disagree with Mehta's recommendation in *The Allure of Order*, but they explicitly or implicitly raise questions about whether it goes far enough. In *Too Many Children Left Behind*, Bruce Bradbury and colleagues concur strongly with Mehta's emphasis on investing in the teaching profession, but they embed that point in an argument about how Canada, the United Kingdom, and Australia invest more broadly in supports for poor children and families, higher quality teaching among them. Using databases from each country that allow them to trace a cohort of students over time, they examine both distal and more proximal influences on child development, including the availability of preschool, social insurance, parental health and education, age of parents, family structure, and some aspects of parenting style. Examined in this way, American poverty is shown to be much more damaging to the life chances of poor children than poverty in these other countries, notwithstanding tenacious assumptions about American exceptionalism. The differences show up early and continue to grow as children age (a pattern that can be obscured in aggregate data).

Based largely on what seems to be working elsewhere, the authors' policy recommendations particularly emphasize increasing access to early childhood education (the authors find that in 2011, only one in four American kindergartners had attended preschool, compared to 90-plus percent of kindergartners in peer countries), raising incomes for low-income families, and improving schools, partly through the kinds of investments in the teaching force that Mehta advocates. Neither the authors of *Too Many Children Left Behind* nor Mehta say very much about leadership. A growing and persuasive body of research suggests that it is unwise to separate improvement of teaching from improvements in its organizational context, and especially in its leadership (Bryk et al. 2010; Louis et al. 2010). One is entitled to wonder exactly how well some of their suggestions translate cross-culturally and

cross-politically. Raising teacher salaries, as they suggest, is probably a good idea, but it remains an empirical question whether it would have the same effect here as it does in societies where the profession is revered. While the authors of *Too Many Children Left Behind* have chosen comparison countries that have their own struggles with race and immigration, it is unclear whether race exercises its grip on developmental processes in these other countries in the same way that it does in the United States. The more important point, though, is that this book helps us understand youth development more comprehensively and makes a good case that if we commit to investing more comprehensively in poor youth and families, we can reasonably hope to see positive outcomes. Whoever coined the phrase "evidence-based optimism" was thinking of work like this. Note, too, that this book is trying to explain relative success and to understand the conditions under which low-income children do achieve. This can be a much shorter path to improved practice than the far more common tendency, normalized by the "Coleman Report," of focusing on explanations for failure.

While *Too Many Children Left Behind* does not offer any sustained thinking about race (even when its authors talk about segregation!), racialization is central to *Despite the Best Intentions*. Amanda Lewis and John Diamond frame the issue of racial achievement gaps in a particularly compelling way. They look at a high school that has a strong resource base, that prides itself on being diverse and desegregated, and that has a strong community, and they ask why minority achievement continues to lag. Lewis and Diamond spent 4 years at Riverside High, observing, interviewing over 170 people, and supplementing their data with a schoolwide survey of student culture. They use the survey data partly to build a case that student underachievement cannot be well understood in terms of some kind of oppositional culture among black students. Instead, they find considerable evidence of patterns of racialized interaction that leave black and Latino students at a disadvantage, all the rhetoric notwithstanding. This is clearly the case in the area of school discipline, where black students face greater surveillance and receive more severe punishments for a given offense than white students. (We now have ample evidence for how widespread these problems are; see, e.g., Skiba, Mediratta, and Rausch [2016].) These disparities are glaringly obvious to students of color, but they are also clear to some white students and staff. These differences seem ultimately to be driven by the symbolic meaning of race and the expectations attached to it—race as a signifier of incapacity and antisocial tendencies—and the racial differences in treatment make it very plain to students of color that they are not fully

accepted and valued citizens of the institution. The disparities in practices also seem linked to the inclination and capacity of parents to advocate for their children. Black parents are assumed to be considerably less active in advocating for their children, so school officials have less reason to worry about pushback when they assign a black child to a lower track. Lewis and Diamond's analysis of discipline disparities and racialized tracking systems is fine-grained and theoretically grounded, as is their analysis of opportunity hoarding among white parents. While staunchly advocating diversity— some even moving to Riverside for that reason—white parents firmly opposed any reforms in the systems that advantaged their children. (It would have been illuminating to have an equally thorough treatment of the position of black parents.)

Published in 1966, the "Coleman Report"—formally titled "Equality of Educational Opportunity"—has probably done more to shape the way we think about educational inequality than any other single work (Coleman 1966). One of the debates it set in motion was about whether schools could do anything meaningful about student achievement in the face of poverty. As a rule, those arguing that schools were generally not capable of making a difference have paid little or no attention to the internal life of schools. Lewis and Diamond, with their careful analysis of the racialized and, to an extent, class-inflected, nature of relationships in Riverside, remind us what a huge strategic error ignoring relationships in schools can be. A lack of attention to the internal life of schools leads people to wonder why the achievement of middle-class black children is not higher and to assume that social policies that address poverty will also address race. Lewis and Diamond also add complexity to resource-centered arguments. Social honor, the sense of shared esteem among a group, is a resource too, and it is one that schools may be systematically stripping from black and brown students. If students do not feel like citizens of their schools, will other kinds of resources get the traction we hope for? How far would the professionalization of the teaching force go toward countering the racialization of those who are being taught?

The aforementioned *Too Many Children Left Behind*, which compares US education to that of other countries, signals that American thinking about education is being globalized, however belatedly. Bowen Paulle's *Toxic Schools* appears to be the first cross-national ethnographic comparison of schools serving "profoundly stigmatized, poverty-stricken, and ethnically-marked residential areas" (Paulle 2013, x), one in the Bronx, the other in Amsterdam. Paulle focuses on the coping strategies of youth and adults in bottom-

tier schools, what Paulle terms "stress factories" (170). There are, of course, many differences between the contexts. The considerable violence in Amsterdam is still less than that in the Bronx, and street gangs do not hold much sway in the Dutch context. Students in Amsterdam came to school more often, changed schools less often, and were less likely to be homeless. Paulle sees lightheartedness in Amsterdam that felt missing from school life in the Bronx. In accord with the conclusions of *Too Many Children Left Behind*, Paulle contends that Holland's welfare state accounts for much of the difference.

Differences notwithstanding, in both contexts teachers struggled to teach more than 15 minutes in a typical 45-minute class, given the near-constant disruptions. Like Lewis and Diamond, Paulle does not see the oppositional culture thesis as much help in explaining self-destructive behavior. He sees counterproductive behavior as a function of environmental stress, much of it connected to struggles over status and recognition. The kids at the top of the status hierarchies—what he calls the "ghetto fabulous" (xi)—stay there largely because of their style and their capacity to dominate others. Extreme violence may be rare, even in the Bronx, but threats and intimidation are nearly constant, with emotional, social, academic, and, if the author is right, physiological consequences. In the context of an academic discussion that is too often narrowly framed around academic development, Paulle performs a considerable service just by reminding us that the first fact of life in the worst of these nearly abandoned schools is the atmosphere of chaos, threat, and intimidation. This takes us much closer to the lived reality of teachers, students, and parents (even though the latter are essentially missing from this work) and explains why both policy discourse and research discourse often seem perfectly irrelevant to those in such schools. Conceptually, even though Paulle almost certainly overstates his point about the overracialization of these students, he is quite right that we have little understanding of the circumstances under which race is a consciously salient aspect of identity for the most marginalized young people. For many readers, though, the first takeaway may be that students who are similarly situated socially may react to their marginalization in strikingly similar ways.

The book's primary shortcoming is its pronounced tendency toward overinterpretation. If it is indeed true that these children had "no socially acceptable way to give themselves even a few hours of respite from the intimidation cursing the entire student body" (98), that is incredibly important, but it is not clear what students said or did to suggest their lives were this

barren. If it is true that school leadership in the Bronx is so worn down that it cannot respond appropriately to incidents of violence, that too is of great importance, but again we are given no idea what justifies this interpretation. When support is offered, it is captivating. (Best quote from a teacher: "I demand respect. And if I don't get it, I go on sick leave" [11].) There is also a problem of promised discussions not materializing. Much to his credit, Paulle makes it clear that some teachers in both schools were far more successful than others, even with the hard-case kids, and he makes the insightful point that we should be paying more attention to understanding how the best teachers become good and how teachers who start off with promise get destroyed before they have a chance to get better. After talking on the edges of the issues for a bit, he concludes, disappointingly, that his data, while somewhat longitudinal, "do not allow me to speak to this question" (189). One wonders how much more he could have learned if he just had some conversations with his students about why they respond differently to different teachers.

When *Toxic Schools* is read alongside *Despite the Best Intentions*, the irony is that whether at a diverse and relatively more advantaged school, as in Riverside, or at an abandoned school, such as in the Bronx, black students find it difficult to feel that they belong. Just where would and do black students feel accepted and affirmed? It is pretty clear that, 60 years after *Brown vs. Board of Education*, we still do not have much of an answer.

NCLB was developed from a questionable research base when it was first initiated, and the jury may still be out on its value. What is clear, though, is that research on the relationship between education and inequality—some of it in direct response to the law—has improved markedly. Although the frame of holding schools accountable for outcomes is still a part of public and policy discourse, concerns with accountability are now embedded in broader discussions about the importance of investing in children, families, and schools and considering how the internal dynamics of schools either support or frustrate those investments. It would be nice to think these works represent a trend toward thinking that is less ahistorical and reductionist, and more empirically grounded, than some of the thinking driving educational reforms of the past.

These studies also suggest something about what kind of work we need going forward. It has already been suggested that we need to pay more attention to issues around building-level leadership. That should be thought of as part of a larger need to better understand the internal dynamics of

schools. Part of that line of inquiry could be organized around questions of self-efficacy, like those addressed by Paulle. To what degree do teachers, parents, school leaders, and students feel capable of performing their roles effectively? How does that affect the way they interact? What role does race play in shaping those feelings? Beyond that, we think that Lewis and Diamond are quite right to stress that race remains undertheorized in these discussions. We need to understand its construction and navigation from the playgrounds to the places where policy is made. We would also underscore the importance of framing the problem in terms of variations in outcomes, not just central tendencies. Recall, for example, that Paulle calls attention to the fact that, even in very bad schools, some teachers are consistently successful. Something of a movement has developed, in part, around the idea that understanding variations like that can accelerate the kind of learning that leads to improvement (Bryk et al. 2015). We have been so bemused, as it were, by the failure typical of urban schools that we have failed to give due attention to instructive outliers. Doing so moves us a bit away from understanding the roots of the problems and a bit closer to a discussion about how to work effectively with disenfranchised children.

NOTE

Darnell Leatherwood is a Department of Education Institute of Education Sciences doctoral fellow at the University of Chicago in the School of Social Service Administration and coordinator of the University of Chicago Committee on Education's Workshop on Education. His interests include educational inequality and social policy/inequality.

Charles Payne is the Frank P. Hixon Distinguished Service Professor in the School of Social Service Administration. His interests include educational inequality and social change. His current book projects are entitled "Nobody's Fault But Mine: the Future of Black Education" and "Schooling the Ghetto: 'Reforming' Urban Schools."

REFERENCES

Bradbury, Bruce, Miles Corak, Jane Waldfogel, and Elizabeth Washbrook. 2015. *Too Many Children Left Behind: The US Achievement Gap in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Bryk, Anthony, Louis M. Gomez, Alicia Grunow, and Paul G. LeMahieu. 2015. *Learning to Improve: How America's Schools Can Get Better at Getting Better*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bryk, Anthony S., Penny Bender Sebring, Elaine Allensworth, Stuart Luppescu, and John Q. Easton. 2010. *Organizing Schools for Improvement: Lessons from Chicago.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Coleman, James S. "Equality of Educational Opportunity." 1996. Report, National Center for Educational Statistics, Washington, DC.

Lewis, Amanda E., and John B. Diamond. 2015. *Despite the Best Intentions: How Racial Inequality Thrives in Good Schools.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Louis, Karen Seashore, Kenneth Leithwood, Kyla L. Wahlstrom, and Stephen E. Anderson. 2010. *Learning from Leadership: Investigating the Links to Improved Student Learning.* Minneapolis: Center for Applied Research and Educational Improvement.

Mehta, Jal. 2013. *The Allure of Order: High Hopes, Dashed Expectations, and the Troubled Quest to Remake American Schooling.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Paulle, Bowen. 2013. *Toxic Schools: High-Poverty Education in New York and Amsterdam.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Skiba, Russell J., Kavitha Mediratta, and M. Karega Rausch, eds. 2016. *Inequality in School Discipline: Research and Practice to Reduce Disparities.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Book Reviews

Integrating the Inner City: The Promise and Perils of Mixed-Income Public Housing Transformation. By Robert J. Chaskin and Mark L. Joseph. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015. Pp. 344. $40.00 (cloth).

One of the most striking scenes from Alex Kotlowitz's 1991 book *There Are No Children Here: The Story of Two Boys Growing Up in the Other America* (New York: Doubleday) revolves around the discovery of thousands of ruined kitchen appliances in the squalid basement of a building at the Henry Horner Homes, one of Chicago's notorious public housing complexes. While tenants tried in vain to get management to replace the broken stoves in their units, rows upon rows of brand new ones were left to rot away, forgotten for years, in a basement so full of pools of raw sewage, dead cats, live rodents, and other debris that the emanating stench wafted into apartments throughout the building. In a book that chronicles the often harrowing experiences of a poor family living in public housing, perhaps no other episode better encapsulates the physical decay, dysfunction, and mismanagement that came to be viewed as the hallmarks of the failure of public housing in Chicago and throughout the United States.

Robert J. Chaskin and Mark L. Joseph's compelling new book, *Integrating the Inner City: The Promise and Perils of Mixed-Income Public Housing Transformation*, picks up roughly a decade after Kotlowitz's book leaves off, with the launch of the Chicago Plan for Transformation (hereafter "the Transformation Plan") in the year 2000. Seeking to make a break from Chicago's status as the nation's poster child for the crime, unemployment, crumbling infrastructure, and concentrated poverty so often associated with public housing, the Transformation Plan envisioned a complete overhaul of the entire public housing enterprise in Chicago. In line with similar approaches in Boston and elsewhere, this entailed quite literally starting from scratch by tearing down public housing complexes, relocating residents, and then rebuilding the sites into mixed-income developments that included units for

relocated public housing tenants and other low-income renters alongside market-rate units for rent or purchase. This physical transformation of former public housing complexes and their surrounding neighborhoods was a key objective of the Transformation Plan. However, it was accompanied by the equally important goal of ending the marginalization of public housing residents and integrating them into the broader social and economic fabric of life in Chicago. As the authors point out, with a price tag north of $3 billion, the Transformation Plan represents the largest attempt at public housing reform in the United States to date.

Did such an ambitious and large-scale effort achieve its goals? This is the central question of Chaskin and Joseph's book, which is the product of 6 years of mixed-methods research that focuses primarily on the redevelopment of three former public housing sites, including the former Henry Horner Homes. In addressing this question, *Integrating the Inner City* provides a valuable, yet cautionary, tale about the current zeitgeist in public housing reform.

Before delving into what their research yields with respect to the successes and failures of the Transformation Plan, Chaskin and Joseph spend a good deal of the first part of the book placing the Transformation Plan in its appropriate historical and theoretical context. This is a carefully researched and comprehensive examination of the origins of the Transformation Plan that could stand on its own as a highly informative summary of the evolution of public housing in the United States. It serves as a useful primer on the ways in which public housing has been, and continues to be, seen as a means to address urban poverty. In their analysis, the authors draw both on sociological theories of urban poverty and on the principles of New Urbanist design to explain why the creation of market-oriented, mixed-income developments came to be the preferred policy approach to public housing reform in Chicago and beyond. Although this is a slight oversimplification, Chaskin and Joseph essentially argue that mixed-income developments are motivated by the belief that the destruction of public housing will help reduce concentrated urban poverty (and its resulting ill effects) and will allow former public housing tenants to integrate into more economically and socially diverse neighborhoods. In turn, the social and economic circumstances of these tenants will be improved not only because of the positive effects of living in better functioning neighborhoods but also because the presumed interactions with their new, richer neighbors will increase their social capital (and hence opportunities) while also providing them with role

models to help them change their behavior to align with middle-class (read: more desirable and morally correct) norms.

After completing the necessary and important work of tracing the origins of the Transformation Plan, Chaskin and Joseph turn to the meat of the book, in which they focus on the effects of the Transformation Plan and whether it has lived up to its promises. In parallel with the physical and social aims of the Transformation Plan itself, the authors evaluate both its physical and its social outcomes. With respect to the former, if there is any good news to come out of Chaskin and Joseph's analysis, it is that the physical transformation of the former public housing sites has achieved a moderate degree of success. Whereas the high-rise public housing developments in Chicago were physically isolated from their surroundings and were inward-facing, the new mixed-income developments have been successfully woven back into the street grid and, thus, the broader neighborhoods in which they are located. Relocated public housing residents are also largely satisfied with the quality of their brand-new housing, which represents a sea change from the decaying buildings in which they had previously lived. Likewise, they are quick to mention the greater sense of personal safety and reduced fear of crime in the new developments, the benefits of which should not be understated given the evidence of a link between fear and less desirable mental and physical health outcomes. Moreover, Chaskin and Joseph use data from the Census Bureau to trace the improving economic trajectory of the neighborhoods around the mixed-income redevelopments. Here, the authors are quick to point out that the benefits are not necessarily shared equally, and the economic gains are more likely the product of higher-income households moving into the neighborhoods than a result of improvements in the circumstances of former public housing residents. Nonetheless, the main takeaway is that living in new housing located in safer and improving neighborhoods does provide some tangible benefits to relocated public housing residents and other low-income renters residing in the developments.

The findings with respect to the social and economic integration of relocated public housing residents are far more sobering. Chaskin and Joseph coin the term *incorporated exclusion* to describe their key finding that closer spatial proximity between relocated public housing residents and their higher-income neighbors in the mixed-income developments does not translate into social integration and improved economic opportunity in the real world as cleanly as theory might suggest. To the contrary, despite now living next door to their economically well-to-do peers, former public housing res-

idents continue to experience the same marginalization and alienation they felt when living in public housing high-rises. Indeed, Chaskin and Joseph detail how the fairly limited interactions between lower- and higher-income residents provide little in the way of access to better employment opportunities and other concrete benefits for the former set of residents. Tensions between market-rate and low-income residents abound, and perceptions of relocated public housing tenants as being unable or unwilling to relinquish their "ghetto" behaviors persist. Moreover, there are clear power imbalances in the mixed-income developments. By virtue of their membership in homeowners associations, residents who own units are able to play an active role in setting the rules and regulations that govern life in the developments. By contrast, relocated public housing tenants and other low-income renters do not have access to a similar entity that affords them an opportunity to have any real say in the decision-making process. A collateral result of this power imbalance is that owners can generally impose their will when it comes to defining appropriate uses of public space in the mixed-income developments. This means that stoop sitting, outdoor barbecues in common areas, and other activities that are enjoyed by relocated public housing residents but are viewed as "ghetto" behavior that is bad for property values by owners are a no-go. In short, rather than seeing themselves as a single group of residents with shared interests in ensuring that their community is successful, relocated public housing residents and those in market-rate units both adopt what Chaskin and Joseph describe as an "us versus them" mentality. They may share the same physical space, but otherwise neither group feels they have much in common with the other.

Chaskin and Joseph reach much the same conclusion in examining the integration of former public housing residents into the social and economic life of the broader neighborhood around the mixed-income developments. The neighborhoods around the redeveloped public housing sites are on the upswing, but relocated public housing tenants do not venture outside of the developments to engage with the broader community in a meaningful or beneficial way. All of this leads Chaskin and Joseph to reach the ultimate conclusion that costs of the Transformation Plan—both the financial costs of remaking the built environment and the social costs associated with the uprooting and relocation of public housing residents—have outstripped the benefits it has provided to low-income households in Chicago. Yes, the demolition of public housing and creation of mixed-income developments have helped create better neighborhoods overall, but this has dispropor-

tionately benefited people in higher-income households who, at the dawn of the twenty-first century, are newly keen on urban living. And yes, the mixed-income developments provide relocated public housing tenants with adequate-quality housing in safer neighborhoods, but, as the authors point out, most remain quite poor and feel as disconnected as ever from the rest of society. While their overall conclusion is somewhat pessimistic, Chaskin and Joseph stop short of an outright condemnation of mixed-income developments and offer some insightful suggestions for how such an approach to public housing reform could be implemented in the future in a manner that results in greater benefits to for the urban poor. However, they caution that the full social and economic integration of those living in poverty will require much broader and more systemic action than can be achieved simply through public housing reform.

Beyond their assessment of whether the Transformation Plan achieved its dual goals of physical neighborhood transformation and integration of public housing residents, Chaskin and Joseph also offer an interesting analysis of how redevelopment actually played out at each of the three sites they examined. In doing so, the authors raise some tricky questions about whether the use of private developers who are motivated by the profit-oriented goals of selling and renting market-rate units is ultimately compatible with the social goal of providing decent, affordable housing to low-income families as a means to facilitate their access to better opportunities and outcomes. They also reveal some interesting wrinkles in the complicated process of actually redeveloping the sites. For example, one private developer describes how the economics of the developments only work in his favor due to the cost offsets generated by the low-income rental units. In other words, contrary to what one might expect, it is not the profits made from selling and renting market-rate units that subsidize the units for relocated public housing and other low-income tenants. Instead, it is the subsidies and tax credits for the low-income rental units that compensate for the slightly below-market rates that developers must charge in order to entice higher-income households to move into the developments that make the whole enterprise profitable.

There are a few places where one wishes Chaskin and Joseph would have delved a bit deeper into their findings. One area where this is particularly true is with respect to the database that included linked administrative records from several state and local child welfare, human service, and criminal justice agencies for 16,000 households who were living in public

housing when the Transformation Plan was launched. This appears to be an incredibly rich database to which the authors had access, but a description of what they found from mining these data is relegated mainly to a few pages in the concluding chapter. This feels like a bit of a missed opportunity to add an interesting dimension to the book's otherwise mainly qualitative findings. Additionally, one wonders about the extent to which Chaskin and Joseph's findings are likely to be generalizable to other contexts. After all, the study took place in the midst of the recent Great Recession, which was sparked primarily by real estate market turmoil. This had a tangible effect on the implementation of the Transformation Plan and the ability of developers to complete the work they had initially planned at each of the mixed-income development sites. Likewise, Chaskin and Joseph's research was conducted at the same time that the new developments were being populated with their first residents, which begs the question of whether relocated public housing residents might be better integrated 5, 10, or 15 years down the road. To be clear, the authors acknowledge both of these as potential limitations of their study, and neither limitation detracts greatly from the overall quality of their work. Nonetheless, these limitations do point to the need for additional research to assess whether, and under what conditions, mixed-income housing developments might prove more successful at providing low-income residents with more concrete social and economic benefits.

In closing, Chaskin and Joseph have produced a highly important work that adds greatly to our understanding of the benefits, limitations, and complex challenges involved in undertaking public housing reform. From a broader perspective, the book's focus on the role of housing as a platform for poverty reduction is in line with growing academic interest in this topic. Indeed, Chaskin and Joseph's book serves as a nice complement to Matthew Desmond's recent book, *Evicted: Poverty and Profit in the American City* (New York: Crown, 2016), which focuses on the hardships endured by low-income renters in the private market. Given that these two books look at the issue of housing for the urban poor from two sides of the same coin, they would serve as a nice combination on a syllabus for a course on urban poverty or housing policy, or for anyone with an interest in acquiring a comprehensive understanding of this topic.

Thomas Byrne
Boston University

Evicted: Poverty and Profit in the American City. By Matthew Desmond. New York: Crown Publishers, 2016. $28.00 (cloth).

Attention to urban poverty in the United States, as a focus of social science research and as a target of social policy, has waxed and waned over the decades. Early sociological research on the city, for example, included a range of empirical studies on the city's slums, and early social reformers such as those associated with the Settlement House movement were focused on the social problems generated by living in the crowded, unsanitary, and often dangerous tenement communities that characterized the industrial city of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. After about 30 years of relative quiescence, a focus on urban poverty, race, and poverty policy was on the rise again in the 1960s, and since the late 1980s a wealth of scholarship has attended to the presence of and problems associated with concentrated urban poverty and the generation of a range of policy responses. While much of this research has focused on high-poverty neighborhoods and the relationship between concentrated disadvantage, neighborhood structural characteristics and processes, and social problems (e.g., William Julius Wilson's *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City and Public Policy* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987] and Robert J. Sampson's *Great American City: Chicago and the Enduring Neighborhood Effect* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012]), a focus on housing has sometimes also been central. Scholarship on homelessness, for example, has sought to define and assess the extent of homelessness in the United States, examined variation among those who experience homelessness, and focused on its causes, consequences, and policy implications (e.g., Barrett A. Lee, Kimberly A. Tyler, and James D. Wright, "The New Homelessness Revisited," *Annual Review of Sociology* 35 [2010]: 501–21). And a large number of studies have focused on public housing populations and housing policy, including the nature of life in public housing projects (Sudhir Alladi Venkatesh, *American Project: The Rise and Fall of a Modern Ghetto* [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000]), the history and etiology of public housing failure (D. Bradford Hunt, *Blueprint for Disaster: The Unraveling of Chicago Public Housing* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009]; Lawrence J. Vale, *From the Puritans to the Projects: Public Housing and Public Neighbors* [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000]), the effect of public housing demolition and resident relocation (Edward G. Goetz, *New Deal Ruins: Race, Economic*

Justice and Public Housing Policy [Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013]), and efforts to address the deleterious effects of concentrated poverty through housing mobility programs like Moving to Opportunity or public housing redevelopment schemes like HOPE VI (Xavier de Souza Briggs, Susan J. Popkin, and John M. Goering, *Moving to Opportunity: The Story of an American Experiment to Fight Ghetto Poverty* [New York: Oxford University Press, 2010]; Lawrence J. Vale, *Purging the Poorest: Public Housing and the Design Politics of Twice-Cleared Communities* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013]).

Less attention, however, has been given to the complex dynamics of housing insecurity among the urban poor more generally, and, as Matthew Desmond points out in *Evicted: Poverty and Profit in the American City*, virtually no scholarship has focused on the role of eviction in the creation, reproduction, and deepening of poverty among a significant population of America's poor. This is a significant oversight. Households living in public housing units or receiving government rent subsidies through Housing Choice Vouchers are limited to spending 30 percent of their income on rent—the generally accepted benchmark for housing affordability. This accounts for about 3.3 million families in the United States. In contrast, more than half of households with incomes below the poverty line (46.7 million people in 2014, according to the US Census Bureau) spend more than 50 percent of their income on rent, and one-quarter spend more than 70 percent. Three-quarters of families who would qualify for housing assistance receive no housing subsidy. Millions of households are evicted in cities across the country each year; in Milwaukee alone (the site of Desmond's study), nearly 15 percent of renters had experienced some form of involuntary relocation between 2009 and 2011. Desmond provides these numbers in *Evicted*, and they certainly outline the scale of a critical and underexamined social problem. But the strength of this remarkable book is its powerful rendering of what eviction means, how it occurs, what its effects are for those who experience it, and how people navigate its threat and the setbacks it brings.

The book focuses on eight families living in poverty and follows them through their interactions with landlords, property management staff, neighbors, family members, nonprofits, and various arms of the state (sheriffs, police, welfare offices, the courts) as they struggle to keep a roof over their heads while working or finding work, caring for their children, striving for a degree, negotiating domestic relationships, and, often, struggling with health problems, disability, or addiction. One set of protagonists is encoun-

tered first in a trailer park on the predominantly white far south side of Milwaukee, the other in inner-city neighborhoods on Milwaukee's largely African American north side. Grounded in in-depth ethnographic research in these sites, the book weaves together the various narratives of these people's daily lives as they navigate the complex dynamics that shape their circumstances and their constant need to respond, recalculate, and revise strategies to make ends meet in the context of extreme resource constraint and housing instability. We see the daily dilemmas these people face and how they negotiate them as they live on welfare or disability payments or earn what they can in unstable employment. With incomes too low to cover the most basic costs (one subject, for example, living on $628 per month disability has just $2.19 per day to spend on all needs once his $550 rent is paid), they engage in a range of practical but also precarious strategies: falling behind in rent during the winter in order to keep the heat and electricity on during the brutal Milwaukee cold, then falling behind in utility payments when the weather warms to catch up on rent; pirating electricity through illegal hookups; working off landlord debts through informal sweat-equity arrangements; moving in with others or accepting others in their homes to pay a portion of the rent. We come to understand the fragility of their lives, and how quickly a period of relative stability can unravel: a loss of welfare benefits because of a missed appointment caused by eviction and correspondence sent to an old address; job loss because of insufficient money to repair a car leading to falling behind in rent and then to eviction; a call to 911 in response to domestic violence leading to eviction, which then led to job loss. The book also details the multifaceted loss that eviction can generate: of home, school, job, neighborhood, furniture, clothes, books, safety, opportunity. "Eviction," Desmond effectively demonstrates, "is a cause, not just a condition, of poverty" (301).

We also get to know the landlords who profit handsomely ("the 'hood is good" notes one [152]) from the high rents charged to poor people with few options but to live in substandard accommodations at the prices offered, the nature of exploitation inherent in these relationships, and the considerations and incentives that shape landlord decisions to rent or not rent, repair or not repair, evict or not evict. The power differential between landlords and tenants in these circumstances is clear (legal protections for renters, for example, disappear when tenants are behind in their rent) and the myriad ways in which landlords can leverage this power are detailed with stunning detail. But the relationship between landlords and tenants is also shown to

be highly complex. Far from anonymous, the landlords we meet here know and are known by their tenants. Since bank accounts are rare among this rental population, rent collection is a "face-to-face affair" (144), and negotiations about rent owed or paid, repairs provided or ignored, and accommodations made or refused are embedded in relationships and that are personal and often complex. ("I love you Ricky," a landlord says as she meets a tenant she's evicting in court. "I love you too, baby" he replies [98].) Landlords may provide informal assistance and support to a tenant one day (providing food to a new tenant and her children on first move-in; tacitly allowing an evicted tenant to stay in place as roommate to a new tenant) and the next day serve an eviction notice or refuse to pay (or offer credit on back rent) for work agreed to and completed by the tenant. The choices landlords make are grounded in relationships and calculations regarding both character and profit. "A landlord could be too soft or too hard," Desmond notes, "the money was in the middle" (39).

These are highly personal stories, and they are presented in exquisite, and often disturbing, detail. But the personal narratives speak to larger themes that are—or should be—at the core of social science research and social policy discourse concerning the plight of poor people like those profiled in the book. Desmond also situates these narratives within social science theory and evidence and within the broader social, economic, and political contexts in which they occur. The reader thus understands the relationship between broader social processes (deindustrialization, recession, racial discrimination, changes in extended kinship networks) and the narratives he spins out, and he situates the experience of his protagonists in empirical evidence (on addiction, the relationship between eviction and long-term housing instability, and the effects of poverty on stress and decision making) that helps explain it. The scholarship contextualizes and explains aspects of the narrative, but the stories lead.

This analysis leads Desmond to argue for three specific policy remedies—investing in legal aid so that families that are threatened with eviction have legal council to represent them (as it stands, 70 percent of those summoned never even show up in court); addressing exploitation reinforced by government support that "legitimizes and defends landlords' right to charge as much as they want" (307); and creating a universal housing voucher program that will benefit everyone below a threshold income. These recommendations are grounded in the more fundamental (and by now long-standing) argument that we need to reorient our understanding of housing

and recognize it as a fundamental human right. The right to housing is ensconced in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and has been reaffirmed in several international treaties and declarations to which the United States is a signatory, and the aspiration that all Americans would have a "decent home and suitable living environment" is codified in the 1949 Housing Act (Title V of P.L. 81-171). But agreement about an explicit right to housing in the United States and the legislative frameworks, resources, and infrastructure to ensure its achievement has been elusive. Desmond joins the call to establish housing as a fundamental human right, and the analysis he provides in *Evicted* makes clear just how essential housing is to an individual's ability to achieve and sustain the unalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness that our nation's founders set forth and that are broadly embraced by Americans. Housing, Desmond effectively demostrates, should be a basic right for everyone because "without stable shelter, everything else falls apart" (301). *Evicted* is an important and exceedingly well-crafted study that is essential reading for scholars, policy makers, practitioners, and activists who seek to understand and respond to the challenges of poverty and housing insecurity in twenty-first-century America.

Robert J. Chaskin
University of Chicago

The Tumbleweed Society: Working and Caring in an Age of Insecurity.
By Allison J. Pugh. New York: Oxford University Press, 2015. Pp. 280.
$27.95 (cloth).

In the last few years, *precarity* has become a much-used term for describing worker insecurity caused by changes in the uncertain and unpredictable labor market. This new age of insecurity is characterized by deregulation, the weakening of unions, downsizing and corporate restructuring, the withdrawal of state provisioning, and the growth of flexible, temporary, or contract work. Much scholarship has focused on the institutions, structures, and workplace arrangements that create insecurity for workers and the effect that this uncertainty has on workers themselves. While several scholars have suggested a connection between work and intimate life (e.g., Jerald Wallulis, *The New Insecurity: The End of the Standard Job and Family* [Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998]), none that I know of draw on empirical data to support their claims. In *The Tumbleweed Society*, Alison

Pugh challenges her readers to consider the implications of precarity beyond the workplace, that is, also in our home lives. Pugh asks: In an insecure age, how do we make sense of our obligations to our employers and each other?

Pugh notes that in the era of twenty-first-century precarity, there are changed expectations of responsibility between employees and employers. Gone are the days of the old social contract, when employers promised job security in return for workers' loyalty and effort. Today, there is a "one-way honor system," under which employees set strict rules for themselves and maintain high standards for their own dedication but do not expect job security from their employers in return for their loyalty and effort (9). Pugh describes this mismatch in expectations as the "central paradox of our times" (18). She pushes this further by asking how expectations—inside and outside the workplace—might vary by people's experiences with job insecurity and their socioeconomic status.

Pugh talks with parents with a variety of work arrangements to explore how their relationship to precarity shapes how they think about responsibility at work and in their familial and personal relationships. She conducts in-depth interviews with 80 mothers and fathers about their "commitment histories" (213). Interviewees come from three groups: workers who have experienced layoffs, who tend to be lower-middle class or working class and are less likely to be in committed partnerships; stable workers, such as teachers or union workers, who are also lower-middle or working class but who are more likely to be in long-term partnerships; and relocators, who moved for work but come from affluent professional backgrounds.

Pugh spends several chapters outlining the different configurations of work insecurity and (dis)advantage among her respondents and describing how these configurations correspond to their views of what we owe each other. She defines three different "stances of obligation" that she uses to highlight the different lenses or frames through which people view their own responsibilities and the responsibilities of others (14). She finds that those who take an independent stance have uncompromising standards and are invulnerable to others, protecting themselves from bad romantic relationships and limited state support. This stance was common among disadvantaged, insecure workers. Others take a stance of duty, making great sacrifices for others and expressing outrage when they do not reciprocate. Finally, secure workers take a pragmatic stance, having high expectations for loyalty from their employers and being willing to compromise in their

intimate relationships. Gender plays a part in the story too, as Pugh finds different patterns between men and women who have similar experiences of advantage and relationships to insecure work. Less advantaged men displace their negative feelings about work onto their intimate partners, while less advantaged women have a sense of freedom from obligation. Many of the cases the author includes have the potential to influence not only how we think about the effects of precarity at work but also how we think about gender inequality and care work. In the same way that men's stable work encourages particular types of intimacy, women's stable employment can allow for fluid gender arrangements within families that defy conventional gendered notions of work and care. Pugh articulates how insecurity feels differently not only for those at the top and bottom of the class ladder but also for men and women.

In the final chapter, Pugh sets out to counter the inevitability of a "tumbleweed society," where people are "shorn of commitment to each other at work and at home," acting in their own self-interest and leaving when situations get difficult (2). Pugh argues that this dystopic vision is neither inevitable nor fully accurate, as it fails to include those who benefit from the new flexibility at work. Instead, the final chapter is a case study of a family that embodies what Pugh terms the "coral society," where stable employment and a diverse family structure lead to endurance in people's intimate lives. In a coral society, people live in diverse types of families that endure "like coral reefs in their immense and brilliant variety and in their rock-like solidarity" (187). These diverse family structures, supported by state reforms, allow people to construct lasting, caring arrangements and commitments.

Pugh successfully weaves together short quotes and stories, creating an intimate connection between the reader and her participants, and since she has 80 interviews, there is rich variation. She elicits nuanced and insightful stories from her respondents, such as the poignant, heartbreaking story of Gary, who blamed himself and not his employers after an unexpected layoff from an established and profitable company. Gary recalls his devastation and his deep regret that he would not be able to break the cycle of poverty and provide a career for his son.

One of the remarkable strengths of the book lies in Pugh's ability to consider a complex set of interlinking characteristics of her interviewees and generalize from them. She shows unexpected similarities between working-class, secure workers and privileged, insecure workers, both of whom ap-

proach intimate relationships with a sense of pragmatism. With such a diverse sample—varying by their experience with job insecurity, class background, relationship status, and gender—Pugh draws valuable sociological conclusions from multiple groups.

Tumbleweed Society has some minor limitations. As Pugh tries to do justice to several different groups and describes complex patterns, occasionally it is difficult to keep track of who is feeling what and what is unique or unexpected. Pugh tries to explain not only how people react to increasing precarity at work but also how precarity intersects with their personal and family lives. Trying to systematically show how these complex dynamics vary across three different social groups seems overly ambitious. Her findings are informative—unexpected even—but she reveals complex patterns of security and (dis)advantage that, from time to time, are not easy to differentiate. She could do more to hit on the simple but revolutionary point that precarity does not have the same effect on everyone and its influence extends beyond the workplace.

Another limitation is Pugh's terminology, which may be unfamiliar to many readers. She draws on concepts such as inner landscapes, displacement, and emotional dissonance to chart people's inner emotional cultures. These concepts are evocative, but their meaning is not always clear. Similarly, Pugh is interested in charting variability in her respondents' sense of obligation to others, but she never satisfactorily defines obligation. She uses several different terms to convey the concept—duty, responsibility, betrayal, commitment, honor—but never operationalizes them. What are the different dimensions of obligation for Pugh? Does it mean different things in the context of our home or our intimate lives? And, most importantly, what does the study of honor and duty mean for sociology? Individuals in her study feel "pain and outrage, fury and resentment, slash-and-burn emotions that give little room for the forgiveness or compromise that enables enduring ties" (108), but why do enduring ties matter for social inequality? This book left me with an overarching question: In this age of insecurity, what do changes in duty or responsibility mean for social problems?

Despite these lingering questions, *Tumbleweed Society* is a welcome and valuable contribution to the sociological debate about precarity because it questions what we know about the lived experience of precarity at this important historical moment. Other books conceptualize precarity as "some undifferentiated cultural sea in which we all swim," glossing over the diversity of worker experiences within the new economy (203). Pugh extends

our current understandings of precarity by adding depth and nuance to the concept. She convinces readers of the importance of class background in shaping how people think about duty and obligation, and she shows that issues of job insecurity extend far beyond the confines of the workplace. Pugh's book is unique because it ranges widely, looking not just at work but at people's home lives and personal relationships as well.

Beth Ann Hart
University of California, Davis

Brief Notices

All Our Welfare: Towards Participatory Social Policy. By Peter Beresford. Bristol, UK: Policy Press, 2016. Pp. 360. $110.00 (cloth); $39.95 (paper).

A New Deal for Old Age: Toward a Progressive Retirement. By Anne L. Alstott. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016. Pp. 208. $29.95 (cloth).

The Coalition Government and Social Policy: Restructuring the Welfare State. Edited by Hugh Bochel and Martin Powell. Bristol, UK: Policy Press, 2016. Pp. 304. $115.00 (cloth); $44.50 (paper).

The Economics of Poverty: History, Measurement, and Policy. By Martin Ravallion. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016. Pp. 736. $125.00 (cloth); $49.95 (paper).

From the War on Poverty to the War on Crime: The Making of Mass Incarceration in America. By Elizabeth Hinton. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016. Pp. 464. $29.95 (cloth).

Funding Policies and the Nonprofit Sector in Western Canada: Evolving Relationships in a Changing Environment. Edited by Peter R. Elson. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016. Pp. 296. $65.00 (cloth).

Housing First: Ending Homelessness, Transforming Systems, and Changing Lives. By Deborah K. Padgett, Benjamin F. Henwood, and Sam J. Tsemberis. New York: Oxford University Press, 2015. Pp. 248. $29.95 (cloth).

Making Immigrant Rights Real: Nonprofits and the Politics of Integration in San Francisco. By Els de Graauw. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2016. Pp. 238. $89.95 (cloth); $22.95 (paper).

Methods That Matter: Integrating Mixed Methods for More Effective Social Science Research. Edited by M. Cameron Hay. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015. Pp. 456. $105.00 (cloth); $35.00 (paper).

Social Work and Science. By Ian Shaw. New York: Columbia University Press, 2016. Pp. 344. $60.00 (cloth).

The Value of Homelessness: Managing Surplus Life in the United States. By Craig Willse. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2015. Pp. 232. $94.50 (cloth); $27.00 (paper).

Unequal Gains: American Growth and Inequality since 1700. By Peter H. Lindert and Jeffrey G. Williamson. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016. Pp. 424. $35.00 (cloth).

Information for Authors

Founded in 1927, *Social Service Review* is devoted to the publication of thought-provoking, original research on social welfare policy, organization, and practice. Articles in the *Review* analyze issues from the points of view of various disciplines, theories, and methodological traditions, view critical problems in context, and carefully consider long-range solutions.

The *Review* features balanced, scholarly contributions from social work and social welfare scholars as well as from members of the various allied disciplines engaged in research on human behavior, social systems, history, public policy, and social services. The journal welcomes contributions on a wide range of topics, such as child welfare, poverty, homelessness, community intervention, race and ethnicity, clinical practice, and mental health. The *Review* also features discerning essays and substantive, critical book reviews.

Social Service Review is edited by Susan J. Lambert and the faculty of the School of Social Service Administration at the University of Chicago.

PREPARING A MANUSCRIPT FOR SUBMISSION

Social Service Review does not publish and will not review works published previously or under consideration for publication elsewhere. The *Review* does not impose page limits but requires authors to present their work directly and concisely. The journal will review articles formatted in any style but requires accepted manuscripts to meet the journal's style. For a guide to the journal's policy, style, and editorial process, see http://www .journals.uchicago.edu/page/ssr/instruct.html.

SUBMITTING A MANUSCRIPT

Authors may submit manuscripts via our online submission system, Editorial Manager. Please upload your manuscripts at http://www .editorialmanager.com/ucp-ssr/. In order to submit an article, you will be required to register with the site.

When you submit:

Include the names of all authors, along with their affiliations and contact information (e-mail addresses).

Acknowledge that the submission has not been published previously and is not being considered for publication elsewhere.

Ensure that no element in the manuscript jeopardizes the anonymity of the peer review process.

Attach an electronic copy of the manuscript in Word document format.

If you have any questions or problems with this process, please contact the journal office at ssr@uchicago.edu or 773-702-1165.

"This short book is packed with excellent advice on writing, offered with charm and good cheer."
—Steven Pinker, author of *The Sense of Style: The Thinking Person's Guide to Writing in the 21st Century*

The Writer's Diet

A Guide to Fit Prose

Helen Sword

Do your sentences sag? Could your paragraphs use a pick-me-up? If so, *The Writer's Diet* is for you! It's a short, sharp introduction to great writing that will help you energize your prose and boost your verbal fitness.

"Even the leanest and most muscular stylists can end up with jiggly bits in their prose. With Sword as your coach, and *The Writer's Diet* as your training manual, you can slim down, tone up, and become a more energetic, engaging, and lively writer."—Rachel Toor, columnist for *The Chronicle of Higher Education*

Paper $15.00